Introduction to the History of the Church in Scotland

J. H. SHEPHERD, M.A.

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OF THE

CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

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OF THE

CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

BY

J. H. SHEPHERD, M.A.

RECTOR OF ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, MUTHILL

DIOCESAN INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS (ST. ANDREWS, DUNKELD AND DUNBLANE)

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PREFACE

For the last seven years the writer has been lecturing on Church History in various parts of the Diocese of St. Andrews. In the chapters which follow, these lectures have been revised and re-written, and are now offered to the Church at large in the hope that they may help to do something towards showing Episcopalians that they are neither "unpatriotic" nor of an "alien faith." Speaking to and writing mainly for Episcopalians, the author has traced the history of the Episcopal Church alone since the Revolution. As a Scotsman he is not insensible of the great religious movements that have agitated Presbyterianism since 1689, nor ignorant of the great names that have adorned it, but to speak of these did not fall within his immediate purpose.

An index and a summary view of the main events are added as a help towards the use of the book by beginners.

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INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY

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CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH OF ST. NINIAN AND ST. KENTIGERN

Scotland, or Alban as it was called, eighteen hundred years ago, presented a very different appearance from what it does to-day. The traveller, visiting it for the first time, as he is whirled along by express train from Carlisle to Aberdeen, passes through smiling landscapes and busy industrial towns. Everything speaks of peace and of prosperity, and it requires some effort of the imagination to picture the scene as it was when the Romans first looked upon it. Then there were few smiling happy valleys, no busy towns, but in their place vast, almost impenetrable forests, and deep and dangerous bogs and morasses. The inhabitants were little, if any, above the grade of savages, and

existed as best they might by hunting and fishing, varied only by almost constant wars with each other. Of civilization as it was understood at the time there was hardly a trace, and there exist no written records to tell us anything of the people before the days of the Roman invasions. Even they were unable to do more than to attempt to hold the southern portion of the country, and had to content themselves with trying to keep the natives back behind the great wall they built.

South of a line between Stirling and Dumbarton, and separated from the north by the great wall of Antonius Pius, Roman authority had some semblance of power. In this district the Roman conquerors taught the natives what they knew of civilization, and, it seems highly probable, what they knew of Christianity. Some part, at least, of the Roman army was, by the third and fourth centuries Christian, and it was probably Roman soldiers or Romanized Christians from Gaul who first brought the natives of Scotland to a knowledge of Christ. When the Empire became Christian, the Church, such it was, in Britain, would naturally look to Rome as its head, and its faith and its organization would be no way different from the Church of the rest of the Empire. It is just at this period that history begins to get upon surer ground. Before the birth of Ninian, about the year 360, it is mostly conjecture, and for many years after that date it is by no means easy to follow all that took place, but his life, full

of legend as it undoubtedly is, is the first solid standing-ground. The Venerable Bede (673 735), writing some three hundred years after Ninian, has not much to tell, but the following particulars, gathered from a later biographer, are probably trustworthy. He was born, about the year 360, in the extreme south-west of Scotland, probably not far from where he afterwards set up his own establishment. His father, who held some kind of official position in the district, was apparently a Christian, for the boy was baptized and brought up as a Christian from his youth. We do not know enough of the circumstances to speak with absolute certainty, but there must have been some one in the district of considerable influence, for Ninian, after some teaching in Scotland, was sent to Rome to be educated, perhaps, for this was doubtless in view, ordained to the ministry of the Church.

The change from the wretched conditions of life in Galloway to the magnificence and grandeur of the mistress of the world could not be without its effect on the young student. His journey thither, on good roads, and through flourishing countries, would speak to him more powerfully than words, of the ability and strength of the city he sought, while his intercourse with the Bishop of Rome and the learned men who surrounded him would give him a new impression of the Faith he had learned in far-away Britain. In Rome he spent several years, learning all he could of the Church

and its organization, and when he left it, it was as a bishop, and as the enthusiastic missionary of his native land.

His return to Scotland was made by way of Tours, where he spent some time with its saintly bishop, Martin, and from whom he obtained masons to help him to build in his own country such a church as he had learned to love abroad. For the centre of his work he chose a spot eminently suitable, inasmuch as it was close to both England and Ireland, and was sufficiently remote to promise some kind of security. At Whithorn, in the extreme south of Galloway, by the shores of the Solway Firth, he set up the first stone church in the land, and laid the foundation of a religious school which exercised great influence in the days to come. Thither there came, in time, students from England and Ireland, attracted by the fame and worth of Ninian, and out from this school went missionaries in all directions to the surrounding countries. Ninian himself was an active preacher of the Word, and in his work brought to bear all that he had learned in Rome. We need not take quite literally his enthusiastic biographer's statement about his dividing the country into parishes, but we may be quite sure that one trained in the organization of Rome would not suffer his work to perish for want of orderly arrangement. The names of disciples of his, or of men trained in his school, that have come down to us, are sufficiently numer-

ous and widespread to show that there was at least some kind of ground for the statement.

The Christianity which Ninian preached was the ordinary type of Western Christianity of the period. He himself had been ordained and consecrated at Rome, not because Rome had any exclusive right of either mission or jurisdiction—the claim to that was to come much later—but simply because Rome was the centre of the Empire to which Ninian belonged. He died, probably, about the year 432, and was buried in the church of Candida Casa, which he himself had built, and which in later years became a great place of pilgrimage. His name has never been forgotten in Scotland, and the numerous church dedications under various forms—Ninian, Trinian, Ringan, Monenn—attest the hold his life and work took of his countrymen.

Ninian's work, though he began it by building a stone church, was not of a kind to descend in visible memorials to future ages. He was the missionary-preacher and the trainer of preachers rather than a writer of books or a builder of churches that would endure through the ages. The original of his own church has probably disappeared, though there are remains that may perhaps be assigned to this period. At Kirkmadrine, in Wigtonshire, there stand, now carefully protected from the weather, some sculptured stones, differing altogether from the ordinary Celtic monuments, and presenting features which

mark them out as Christian, and most probably of the time of the Roman occupation. The sculpture on one of them consists of the "peculiar symbol that combines the sacred monogram with the penal cross" (Dowden, *Celtic Church*, p. 14), and an inscription showing that the monument originally marked the grave of priests. "Here lie holy and eminent priests—Viventius and Mavorius."

While Ninian was labouring in the south of Scotland, grave misfortune overtook the Empire, and her soldiers had to be recalled from Britain to defend the home-land. The wild tribes whom the Roman power had kept in some kind of order, swarmed down from the hills to plunder and destroy in the more fertile valleys, and much of the work that Ninian did would doubtless perish. The story of the Church in Scotland for more than a hundred years after the death of Ninian is by no means easy to follow. That disciples here and there kept up the faith that he established can be gathered from the number of names that have come down to us, but these are so mixed up with legends, and in some cases the supposed dates are so manifestly wrong, that it is almost impossible to trace out their connection one with another. We get on more certain ground when we come down to the beginning of the sixth century. By that time the district in the south-west of Scotland, stretching from Dumbarton to the Solway, and later into Cumberland,

was making a bold stand for independence, and it is amongst this people and in this district the next really distinct figure appears. Kentigern or Mungo was born early in the sixth century, and according to the legend was baptized and brought up at Culross, on the Firth of Forth. His boyhood was spent there, and in consequence of some trouble in the monastery he left and travelled across country, meeting with various adventures, until finally he settled at Glasgow to do the same kind of work he had been taught at Culross. While there he was elected bishop by the people of Strathclyde, and was consecrated by a single bishop brought from Ireland in the year 543. Things went well for a time, but there seems to have been a relapse into paganism, and Kentigern was driven out. He went into Wales, where he established a monastery and school of mission work at St. Asaph's, where he stayed for some twenty years. A change in the affairs of Strathclyde brought Kentigern back to the district about 573, and after a short interval of work at Hoddam he settled again at Glasgow and built a church there. By this time a stream of Christians had come to Scotland from Ireland, and one of the most beautiful episodes in Kentigern's life is that which tells of his meeting with his great contemporary, Columba, at Glasgow. The biographer has doubtless allowed his imagination full scope, but there seems little reason to doubt that the two great missionaries did meet about 585.

"During several days these saints mutually conversed on the things of God and the salvation of their souls; then saying farewell they returned to their homes, never to meet again." Kentigern had still almost twenty years of life left, and he spent it in missionary work, much of it outside Strathclyde, as church dedications testify. He died in 603, and was buried in his church at Glasgow, the site of which is now covered by the cathedral dedicated in his name.

CHAPTER II

COLUMBA AND THE CELTIC CHURCH

Several of Ninian's pupils had gone from Whithorn to Ireland to carry on his work there, and the great Apostle of Ireland, Patricius, probably learned his first faith in Scotland. The current of teachers returned to Scotland by a curious route in the person of Columba, the greatest of all these early missionaries. Born in Donegal in the year 521, and probably of royal descent, no one has stronger claims on our affection and admiration than he. Though the work Ninian did had never completely perished, and though Kentigern had done much in Strathclyde and elsewhere, it is Columba who is beyond all the Apostle of Scotland. He was well trained in the Irish monastic schools at Moville and Clonard, and in due time was ordained deacon and priest. He never was consecrated bishop, and this fact afterwards came to have rather an important bearing on Church questions in Scotland. After his death it became a rule that the head of the monastery at Iona should not be

of higher rank than its great founder, and this rule, in days when the peculiarities of the Celtic Church were not well understood, led, as we shall see, to misapprehensions of its true character.

Columba spent fifteen years working in Ireland before he set out on his great mission, and no thoroughly satisfactory account has yet been given of how he came to leave Ireland. A large number of colonists from Ireland had settled on the west coast of Scotland, and were in great danger from their heathen neighbours. It has been suggested that Columba's mission to Christianize those natives may have been thought the most effectual way of stopping their attacks on his kinsmen. On the other hand, there is something to be said for the legend which represents Columba's coming to Scotland as the result of an ecclesiastical penance for having been the cause of bloodshed. He had received from his teacher, says the story, a copy of the Psalms to study, but instead of confining himself to studying it, he made a copy of it. When the teacher heard of this, he demanded that both—the original and the copy—should be given up to him, but this, however, Columba stoutly refused, claiming the copy as his own property. The matter was referred to arbitration, and the judgment given was as follows: "To every cow her calf belongs, and so to every book its child-book." To this decision Columba refused to submit, and appeal was made to arms. A great

battle was fought and, though he and his friends had the best of matters, the result was not satisfactory. Much blood had been shed, and it was as a penance for this—so the story runs—that Columba resolved to leave Ireland and devote himself to missionary work. In a frail boat, with twelve companions, he set sail, and refused to land until they had reached a spot whence the shores of beloved Ireland could no longer be seen. The small island of Iona, close to the west coast of Argyllshire, complied with this condition, and there in 563 he landed.

Christian settlements on small islands were a regular feature of Irish Christianity, and it was no untried plan that Columba was putting into operation. He himself, in the course of his work in Ireland, had known and visited many of these settlements, and he reproduced in Iona, and later on the mainland, the form and organization of the Church of his native land. His main work was, of course, the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen Picts, and to this labour, personally and by means of others, he devoted the rest of his life. Iona became the centre from which the Gospel light streamed out all over Scotland, and in later years, long after it had lost all connection with Columban monks, a place of pilgrimage that was world-famous.

Of Columba himself and the part he played in all that was done, legend has told us a great deal, and the frequency of his name in far-separated

places in Scotland is excellent testimony to the energy which he threw into his teaching. The "Colms" of Scotland, though doubtless there are blunders here and there, show how wide his itinerary was, and how deep must have been the impression he made. Physically, he was just the man to appeal to the Celts. Tall and of a dignified appearance, his very presence gave assurance to the timid, and courage to the wavering. A thorough Celt himself, in his tenderness as in his passionateness, he appealed to a people of vivid imagination, and provided inspiration for his followers. He differed from the ordinary Celt in his untiring industry and perseverance, but the presence of qualities they themselves lacked probably gained him the more converts among them. To the family of Iona he was a true Father in God, and there are few descriptions of the last days of a great man more affecting than that which Adamnan gives of the last days of Columba. His last words to the monks were exhortations to peace and charity, and his last action was probably an attempt to raise his hand to bless them. He had gone into the church at midnight for service and had fallen in front of the altar. When lights were brought and the monks crowded round, he lay with his head resting on the breast of Diarmit. Unable to speak, he raised his hand as if to bless them, and in the act expired. It was the 9th of June, 597, and he had been in the island thirty-six years. There, in the island he

had hallowed by his holy life and self-denying labour, he was laid to rest.

The character of the Columban Church was for a long period matter of much dispute, and Presbyterians, Romanists, and Episcopalians all claimed to be its literal descendants and representatives. The researches of various modern historians, especially of Skene in his *Celtic Scotland*, have settled the question once for all. As an offshoot from the Irish Church, the Church of Columba partook of all the characteristics of that Church, and the peculiarities that it afterwards showed arose rather from the fact of its isolation than from anything in its original constitution. While the Churches of Western Europe, in the full tide of the life of the day, and for the most part under the guidance of the Bishop of Rome, advanced in various directions, the Celtic Church in Great Britain practically stood still. Even at a later period, and when it had been in contact with Roman missionaries, it maintained its primitive beliefs and practices. The Christian year was regularly followed, at least in its greater fasts and festivals, and everything was done according to a prescribed ritual. The chief service, in which were some peculiarities of ritual, was the Holy Communion, which was celebrated every Sunday. While teaching strongly the doctrine of the Real Presence of our Lord in that Sacrament, there was no thought of Transubstantiation, and the people were communicated in

both Elements, and the mixed Chalice was used. Belief in the ministry of angels, and the intervention of the saints on our behalf was part of the common faith, and though the idea of purgatory is absent, there was a strong belief in the efficacy of prayers for the faithful departed. There is no trace anywhere in the Columban Church of any idea of the necessity of submission to the Bishop of Rome. When the idea was presented later on at Whitby, it was indignantly repelled. It owed nothing to the Bishop of Rome, and it conceded no jot of submission. "It received nothing but the doctrine of the Evangelists and Apostles."

In one respect the Celtic Church differed from the ordinary organization of the Western Church. It was episcopal, but not diocesan, and it was remarkable—in this following the example of the Church of Asia Minor—for the number of its bishops as compared with presbyters. Men seem to have been raised to the episcopate as a kind of honour or reward for work done rather than in order to do more work. The bishop occupied, besides, an anomalous position in the jurisdiction of the Church. The work of the Church was done from monasteries, and the head of the monastery was the ruler. The ecclesiastical position of the bishop was well known; there was no confusion of order; bishops, priests and deacons each had their own duties and did them, none interfering. No one but a bishop was ever called in to ordain, and no abbot, however great his jurisdiction,

would have attempted to do such a thing. It was quite an unusual condition of things, arising out of the methods of evangelization, but it was quite well understood.

The monastery was the centre of all life. From it went out the messengers of peace in all directions, and to it they returned as to a home of rest. In it was being constantly carried on the work of training fresh missionaries and of keeping up a continual round of prayer and intercession and praise. Many of the monks were not ordained, but were men who gave themselves to some special work, and who entered the monastery to find peace and quietness in a fierce age. As copyists they did good work in preserving much that would otherwise have perished. As farmers and graziers they taught the surrounding natives a different kind of life from that of constant warfare. Whatever there was of civilization or refinement had its natural home in the monastery, and from it spread out to the surrounding country. The time came when the Columban monks lost the first fervour of their great founder, but the good work they did for several hundred years must not be forgotten.

CHAPTER III

REFORMATION—THE CULDEES AND QUEEN MARGARET

The great upheaval of the sixteenth century was by no means the first attempt in Scotland to purify the Church. The constant tendency of all institutions of long standing is towards stagnation and ultimately deterioration, and the Church of God has been no exception to this law. The Celtic Church of Scotland had received such an impetus from the missionary zeal of Columba as carried its teachers and preachers over the greater part of Scotland and the north of England. In England it came in contact with the more recent mission from Rome, and its peculiarities of organization and discipline, due to long separation from the Church of Western Europe, were thrust into prominence. At the Council of Whitby, in 664, the questions of the tonsure and of the keeping of Easter were keenly debated with the Roman missionaries, but with no good result. Tenacious of their own customs and methods, and refusing to submit themselves to the domination of the Roman bishop, the Celtic monks

withdrew more and more within the limits of Scotland, and kept up there practices which the rest of the Church had discarded. Left to itself to a large extent, and without the missionary enthusiasm of its first apostles, the Celtic Church gradually gave way to decay. In the course of centuries it had become the possessor of much property, and now, bit by bit, the spirit of secularization crept over the Church. Offices began to be held more for the sake of the property attached to them than for the duty to be done. The times were troublous, and in the constant attacks of Danes and Norsemen men of war took the lead rather than men of peace. Superstition largely took the place of the simple faith of Columban days, and the lamp of the Gospel burned very low indeed.

It was probably in circumstances like these that the curious and much-debated Culdees came into existence. For many years these were looked upon in Scotland as a kind of oasis in the midst of a spiritual wilderness. They were, it was taught, a relic of the days when Scotland possessed a pure faith and a perfect Scriptural organization, and their example and teaching was constantly quoted as justifying the religious settlement of the Presbyterians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Long before bishop or pope had corrupted Scotland the pure Culdees were supposed to have upheld the faith of the Gospel. Now, all this has been shown by modern investigators to be purely a product of the imagin-

ation, first introduced as fact into Scottish history by Hector Boece, and copied from him by subsequent historians down almost to our own day. He had to fill a gap in his scheme of ecclesiastical history because he misinterpreted some old documents, and his story of a Culdee Church was the result. The peculiar ecclesiastical arrangements of Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were badly in want of some historical justification, and Boece's story provided it. We need not question the sincerity of the author or the adopters, but we now know that they were both quite wrong.

The name Culdees at first offered some difficulty. It does not occur before the end of the eighth century, and was entirely unknown to Bede or Adamnan, the writer of the life of Columba. Even yet its origin is not clearly made out. According to one school it means "Servant of God," according to another "Friend of God," while there are others who see its derivation in *Cultores Dei*. Whatever the origin of the name, the origin of the body of men called Culdees is quite well known. In the ninth century there were two great movements in the Church of Scotland. On the one hand, as the Celtic Church showed signs of decay, the Roman mission was taking its place and pressing its claims wherever possible, increasing the number of secular clergy as the Columban monks were expelled from various places. On the other hand, there was a distinct spiritual re-

vival going on. Men were getting wearied of the increasing worldliness of the Church, and in their way were anxious to raise the standard of religious life. The only method that presented itself to them in those days was to withdraw to some "desert" place and live the life of recluses or solitaries. Such men were called *Cele De* or *Deicolæ*. By and by groups of "solitaries" were formed in many places, and in those they strove to live apart from the world and in a continual round of devotion. Neither the men nor the name were confined to Scotland; in England, about the middle of the tenth century (Skene, ii. 245), they formed the officiating clergy of the cathedral at York, and they were quite common in Ireland down almost to the sixteenth century.

In Scotland their growth was most noticeable where there were no Columban monks, and they had their greatest success in the eastern districts north of the Forth. Their chief establishments were at Loch Leven, St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Abernethy, Brechin, Rosemarky, Dornoch, Lismore, Monymusk, Muthill, and Monifieth. Doctrinally, they were in the fullest sympathy with the Church of the day, and desired only to make the spiritual life more of a reality than it was. They had neither literary nor missionary zeal, but were ascetics of a very pronounced type. They gained, as such people always do in a half-savage country, a great reputation for sanctity, and doubtless contributed some share

to the general spiritual welfare of the country. Gradually, however, as the years went on, and their worldly possessions grew almost in spite of themselves, they degenerated just as their predecessors had done. In violation of all Church law some at least were married, and their possessions became hereditary, and instead of Culdee hermits they came to be great lords.

The history of great part of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is the history of the attempts the Church made to suppress them. They were more or less outside the regular organization of the Church, and as diocesan gradually took the place of tribal or monastic episcopacy, room was found for them as canons of the new foundations. Many of the places at which they were found became episcopal cities, while they formed the chapter of the cathedral or were responsible for its services. Some of them, notably the Culdees of St. Andrews, were with great difficulty suppressed, but by the fourteenth century they had entirely disappeared. The romance which attached to their name, as Protestants before the Reformation, Presbyterians in the midst of Episcopacy, has been rudely dispelled by exacter knowledge of the circumstances, but it need not prevent our giving them their meed of praise for what they actually tried to do.

The reformation aimed at by the Culdees was more personal than ecclesiastical, and, except that individuals here and there learned to live lives of

greater devotion, their general effect on the Church was small. It was left to a woman, Margaret, wife of King Malcolm Canmore, to effect a real reformation, both spiritually and ecclesiastically, and to give the Church such a "set" as endured for nearly five hundred years. Margaret was one of the English refugees, of whom a great many found their way to Scotland after the Norman Conquest, and while entering enthusiastically into Scottish ways and Scottish affairs, her English training made itself greatly felt. After her marriage to the king she made it the great work of her life to bring her adopted country and Church more into touch with the Church of the West. Just at that time Scotland was, both in ordinary life and in Church matters, rather behind the rest of Europe. The people were rough and uncivilized, and the court had more of the associations of fierce soldiery than of the graces and refinements of a king. The influence of Margaret was soon apparent in the change of the manner of life at court. Herself a gentle, loving woman, anxious to live, according to her ideals, the right life, she knew the value of ceremonial and grandeur as refining agents, and insisted that everything about the court should be of the very best possible, and that no coarseness of habits or manners should be tolerated in any case. She had a true help in her husband, who, fierce and savage in war and quarrel, was yet very truly devoted to his saintly wife, and

whose strong arm could be relied upon when gentler measures failed to bring opponents to reason.

Margaret's piety found expression in the methods usual at the time. Her days were spent according to regular rule between devotion and good works. She made pilgrimages to various shrines, and for the convenience of pilgrims to St. Andrews she established houses on both sides of the Forth. The church of the Holy Trinity, Dunfermline, was built as a thankoffering after her marriage, and she brought a number of Benedictine monks to found the abbey there.

The condition of the Scottish Church filled her with great sorrow and regret. Not only did she see the spiritual life of the people at a very low ebb, but all the arrangements and organization of the Church differed from what she had been used to. The orderliness and discipline of the Western Church were a-wanting, and there were many customs she could neither understand nor reconcile with the teaching she had received. Her chief spiritual advisers were English, and they doubtless helped to increase her desire of bringing about some change. Her main idea was that if Scotland could be brought into the full stream of Western life, and its Church assimilated to the Catholic Church as she knew it, a great movement for the better would take place amongst the mass of the people. The machinery which had kept the Church running was sadly out of order,

and its power was not felt because it was not organized in the best way.

To attain her end Margaret held conferences with the leaders of the Church, and spoke quite plainly as to matters wherein she thought the Scottish Church had erred. She found that in Scotland the Lent fast did not begin till the Monday after the First Sunday in Lent, instead of on Ash Wednesday, as was the Western use. People were very unwilling to partake of the Holy Communion, and she found that it was celebrated according to a "barbarous rite." The Lord's Day was not kept as she thought it should be, the Scots persisting in keeping the Sabbath on the seventh day, and she found a serious moral question raised by the custom of marrying within the forbidden degrees. In the end she managed to get her own way over Church matters, perhaps as much because of the power behind her as because of her own "sweet reasonableness." The gentle character, however, told in the long run, and the spirit and impetus of Margaret's life became more apparent after her death. It was she who began the movement which ended in the complete disappearance of tribal bishops and the establishment of diocesan episcopacy. It was she who started the agencies that culminated in the magnificence of the mediæval Church, and if we regret the extremes both of doctrine and practice into which that Church fell, we do not the less highly value Margaret's work in bringing new life and

activity where had been death and sloth. The Church rose from Margaret's reforms and innovations strengthened and purified, and took its place as part of the Catholic Church, in full communion with all the rest.

To the end of her life her aim never changed. She strove to be a faithful follower of our Lord in her own person, and to train her family and people to be the same. Both responded loyally, and after her death the work never faltered or flagged. She died in Edinburgh Castle on the 16th of November, 1093. Her husband and sons had gone off to avenge an insult of the English king, and in the battle Malcolm was slain. Margaret, lying ill at Edinburgh, learned the dreadful truth from one of her sons. "Praise and thanksgiving be to Thee, Lord Almighty, whose will it is that I should suffer this deep anguish at the hour of my departure, that so, as I trust, I may in some measure be cleansed from the stain of my sins." After a prayer to Jesus for deliverance the good Queen fell asleep. She was buried in Dunfermline, the scene of her marriage and of her happy home life, and two hundred years later was canonized.

The saintly life has not been specially characteristic of Scotland, which has nourished far more ecclesiastics than saints. In Queen Margaret it has a saint it may well be proud of, and one whose influence is powerful even in our day.

CHAPTER IV

HOW THE SCOTTISH CHURCH CAME UNDER THE BISHOP OF ROME

The death of Queen Margaret marks a very important point in the history of the Scottish Church. Up to this date its connection with the Bishop of Rome had been of the slightest possible kind. The old Celtic Church had gone on its own way, and its bishops and clergy had steadily refused to come under the Roman obedience as it was presented to them by Roman missionaries in England. It had claimed its right to an independent existence, just as the kingdom of Scotland had claimed and upheld its national independence. Circumstances, however, had changed considerably by the beginning of the twelfth century. Large numbers of clergy had come into the country, and the influence of these, accustomed as they were to the regularity of the Western Church, all made for bringing Scotland into touch with Rome.

There were just at that time two main lines of policy followed in Church and State. The State

was threatened with the loss of independence from the side of England, and the moment Church life began to revive the Archbishop of York raised the claim of ecclesiastical supremacy. The problem the rulers of the country had to solve was not easy. They had to protect their threatened independence, and they had to bring the Church of the land into line with the Church elsewhere and yet keep clear of the Archbishop of York. In the course of settling both problems many interesting side-questions developed themselves, but the end of it was that while the State managed to preserve itself, the Church escaped the dominion of York only to fall under the dominion of Rome.

The struggle began immediately after Margaret's death. Alexander, one of her sons, was as keenly interested in Church matters as his mother, and took the first step towards getting rid of the old tribal bishops. As the kingdom concentrated itself more and more, the centre of ecclesiastical arrangements shifted from Iona to St. Andrews, and when Fothad, the last tribal bishop, died, no appointment was made for a few years. During all this time there was a steady influx of English clerics, and when an election was made in 1107 it was an Englishman, Turgot, the biographer of Queen Margaret, who was chosen. He was no sooner elected than difficulties began. The Archbishop of York immediately raised his claim of supremacy, which had some colour lent

to it by an alleged submission of the King and Queen, and by an agreement between the two English Primates in 1072, said also to have been ratified by the Scottish authorities. The truth of both arrangements is still a matter of much doubtfulness; but true or false, Alexander would have no submission to York. After a good deal of controversy, Turgot was consecrated at York in 1109, the rights of both Churches being reserved. The new bishop was a thorough Anglican, and his one aim was to model the Scottish Church on the English. The King, who scented submission to England in every act of the bishop's, soon quarrelled with him, and he left Scotland for Durham, where he died in 1115.

The same question was revived when his successor Eadmer was ready for consecration, and a new one, perhaps of greater importance, was raised for the first time. The bishop-elect stood out for spiritual independence, and refused to take part in any ceremony that might imply he was in any way dependent on the King. When this was arranged fresh difficulties about the place of his consecration arose. The King refused to have anything to do with either York or Canterbury, dreading both equally, and the end of it was that Eadmer was not consecrated at all, and left the country, dying at Canterbury in 1124.

Alexander died in 1124, having foreseen the struggle that was coming, but not yet quite seeing the best solution of the difficulty. He had founded

other two bishoprics, Moray and Dunkeld, in addition to St. Andrews, while his brother and successor had revived the old bishopric of Glasgow, getting rid of the York difficulty by having the new bishop consecrated at Rome in 1115, and leaving the Pope and the archbishop to settle matters between them.

David I. (1124—1153) continued the work his predecessor had begun, and his reign was marked by greater activity in Church matters than Scotland had ever seen since the days of Columba. In addition to the four bishoprics that his brother had left, there were founded in David's reign Brechin, Dunblane, Aberdeen, Ross, Caithness. Lismore or Argyll was founded out of Dunkeld about the year 1200, while the other three of the thirteen existing in the sixteenth century were made up out of sees already existing but not under Scottish jurisdiction. It was the great age of Church building in Scotland. Cathedrals, abbeys, churches were being erected all over the land, almost every erection being a source of strength to the Roman power. Cathedrals meant cathedral chapters, and disputes between them and the king as to the right of electing bishops. Usually it ended in every case by an appeal to the Bishop of Rome, who then claimed the right for himself. Abbeys were multiplied by bringing in fresh Orders from France, and these were usually strong allies of the Pope. In another direction the Pope had got a strong hold. On pretence of settling the dispute

about York the Pope had requested the Scottish bishops to meet his legate at Roxburgh in 1126, and this was the beginning of the presence of Papal legates in Scotland. In 1130 the Church had favoured the claims of the anti-pope, Anacletus, but in 1138, in a Council at Carlisle held after his death, it gave its assent to Pope Innocent II. This, though it marked a great gain on the Pope's part, was not by any means a complete settlement.

In spite of Papal legates the old supremacy question was not yet any nearer solution. It received a new impetus by the capture of William I. (1163—1214) by the English. According to the Treaty of Falaise he was weak enough to barter away the independence of his country for his own personal liberty. The clergy were much more cautious. They agreed to recognize "such supremacy of the English Church as it ought to have" (which in their opinion was none at all), "and such as in times past the Scottish Church was wont to give." Clerical speeches made at the Council of Northampton showed how they interpreted "use and wont."

Attempts made by William, as well as by his predecessors, to get the question settled by making the Bishop of St. Andrews a metropolitan had completely failed. That did not suit either the Pope or the English bishops. The step which practically completed the subjection of Scotland to Rome was provoked by the King himself. On

a vacancy occurring at St. Andrews, the chapter chose a priest called John the Scot, but the choice did not satisfy the King, who ordered one of his own chaplains to be appointed. The rejected candidate appealed to the Pope, who sent over a legate to examine into the whole matter. He annulled the King's appointment and confirmed the appointment of the chapter. At once King and Pope were at war, each using the weapons peculiar to his order. The King banished, while the Pope excommunicated, and at last laid the whole of Scotland under an interdict. The effect of the last hundred years of Church life was seen at once. All worship ceased throughout the country, churches were closed, no sacraments administered, and the dead were buried with no word of prayer. The country, as far as the Pope could do it, was absolutely deprived of the means of grace. The coming of a new Pope slightly loosened the situation. After attempting to settle the matter peaceably, he issued a Bull in 1188 in which he proclaimed Scotland the special daughter of the Holy See, and granted to it certain privileges securing its independence both of Canterbury and York.

The last Celtic bishop was thus not a hundred years dead, when the Scottish Church, which had so long maintained an honourable position of independence both with regard to England and Rome, was driven by the needs of the time into the arms of the one to save herself from the other. In that condition she was to remain, while things religious

went from bad to worse, for nearly four hundred years.

For the next hundred years the Church went on its way, busily engaged in church building and in strengthening its position. The Pope extended his claims over his "special daughter" more and more, and both he and the swarms of Italian priests, who were frequently in the country, treated Scotland as a mere piece of prey. Money, and the power of getting more money, was the main object of all who came, and money in large sums passed out of Scotland yearly on various pretences. England suffered in much the same way, but England was much stronger than Scotland and more able to resist. Even in Scotland there were mutterings of resistance from time to time, but it was not till the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, when England and Scotland were in death grips, that the first open resistance was made. The miserable result of the Treaty of Falaise had been undone in 1189, and for a hundred years there was peace between the two countries. In 1290 the Scottish Queen died suddenly, and out of the quarrels that arose after her death sprang the Wars of Independence. A treaty had been signed at Brigham in 1290 which guaranteed the independence of Scotland, and the English King, however statesmanlike his views of union may have been, is mainly to blame for the long wars that ensued. In the course of the war the Pope interfered, urging the Scottish bishops

to put an end to it. The bishops, however, were patriots first and ecclesiastics afterwards, and they paid no heed to Papal commands. Wallace and Bruce had no stronger supporters than the bishops, and, if they were not always very scrupulous as to the means they used, they stirred up a great fire of patriotism which Scotsmen have never since lost. The more the Pope, instigated by English influence, blustered and threatened, the more determinedly did they cleave to the national cause. Excommunication, interdict were tried in vain. They even replied with force of a different kind, and expelled all English clerics from the country. When their cause was ultimately won, the Pope came round, and blessing was exchanged for threatening. In the end Rome managed to be on the right side, and to forget all that had been. The power of the Pope, however, though great, was not absolutely secure, and Scotland was too fair a daughter to be rashly cast aside. He knew when to give way, and though beaten, how to make the best of the new circumstances. No effort was relaxed to increase his hold, and on every occasion where it was to be asserted, or where an advantage was to be gained, there his agents were ready to "buy up the opportunity." Shortly before the great Bruce's death in 1329 the Scots obtained the doubtful privilege of anointing for their king, and the first to obtain the privilege was David II., the unworthy son of

a great father. As usual, the Papacy made the most of its concession, and the price paid for the privilege was a very high one, the exacting of a solemn oath to extirpate heresy from the Church and kingdom. It was a bargain that was duly enforced while the Pope had the power, and even after his fall its baneful influence extended to those who had at great cost just delivered themselves from tyranny. From 1329 to 1690 every Scottish sovereign, Roman and Reformed, took the oath, and each according to the views of the day was duly called upon to execute it. Intended to strengthen the power of the Pope, this compulsory duty of persecuting became one of the chief instruments of his overthrow.

There was hardly any department of Church life over which the shadow of the Pope had not now fallen. When bishoprics fell vacant he claimed the right to fill them. When livings needed filling up, he could always provide a good reason for obtaining the right of presentation. Even out of men's sins and follies the Papacy manufactured material to strengthen its own position. Money was very useful, and when sufficient money was forthcoming, there were many reasons which the Pope could advance for setting a man free from the results of his own foolishness.

The power which the Papacy had attained by the end of the fourteenth century was so great that the wonder was it did not fall by its own weight. Two circumstances tended to preserve

it. It knew how to select its agents, and from a human point of view, it seldom made a mistake in this. Some of those agents were, both as statesmen and ecclesiastics, exceedingly able men, and one, Bishop Kennedy, is, for sheer ability and practical good sense, one of the outstanding figures of the Middle Ages. Men such as he did much to recommend a system which had little but its strength and reputation to preserve it. In addition to its skill in this direction the Church trusted largely to men's feelings of awe at spiritual power. It was the one institution in the world that could withstand the attacks of mere brute force, and the one institution before which mere brute force quailed and was useless.

The Church reached the utmost height of its power in the fifteenth century. By that time the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow had become metropolitans, subject only to the will of the Pope, and when the sixteenth century began the dominion of the Bishop of Rome in Scotland was as complete as the skill of man could make it. It was a position that had only gradually been obtained, and only after much manœuvring and much struggling, but its influence was felt at last in the most remote corner of the land. It sustained its hold for nearly five hundred years, and cast such a glamour over men's minds and spirits that its effects are still felt after nearly four hundred years of a totally different system.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH OF THE MIDDLE AGES

In the last chapter some account has been given of the various steps by which the old Celtic Church passed gradually through an almost complete transformation, and became to all intents and purposes part of the Church of Rome. Without any breach of continuity, but simply by working from the inside, and adapting institutions and organizations to its own model, and by the silent influx of new men and new ideas the Church of Rome obtained the supreme power in Scotland. Looking back on it from our standpoint we can see that it was perhaps a necessary part in the evolution of the nations, for the disciplinary power and strength of the Roman Church was just what the world of that day needed. The very vastness of the system to which Scotland was linked made an impression on men's minds, and gave a kind of superstitious awe, which held in check forces that nothing else could have restrained. It is true, doubtless, that much of the good which such a system effected was counterbalanced by

evils which were the natural outcome of the system itself, but this ought not to blind us to the immense work which the Church of the Middle Ages accomplished. For some four hundred years its teaching and practice guided and moulded Scottish character, and whatever of spiritual life and aspiration the Middle Ages possessed was nourished from this source. Faulty though the teaching became, and corrupt in morals as many of its leaders were, the Church never ceased, even in its worst days, to proclaim "Jesus Christ, and Him crucified," and in spite of all its manifest contradictions to its own teaching, it had a hold of the people, and entered into their daily life, in a way no other ecclesiastical body has been able to do since.

The organization of the Church was perfect. Within little more than a hundred years from the death of the last Celtic bishop, the whole country had been mapped out into dioceses and parishes. Among the dioceses St. Andrews and Glasgow took the lead. Both became, towards the end of the fifteenth century, archbishopries, each with its list of suffragans. The other eleven dioceses, Aberdeen, Brechin, Dunblane, Dunkeld, Caithness, Moray, Ross, Galloway, Argyle, The Isles, Orkney, were all completely organized. Each diocese had its cathedral where the services were maintained with dignity and magnificence by a staff of clergy, and the constant coming and going of clergy to the cathedral city was of great advantage to the

country at large. The arch-dioceses were divided into archdeaconries, rural deaneries and parishes, while in the other dioceses the archdeaconry was co-extensive with the diocese and was sub-divided into deaneries and parishes. In his own diocese the bishop was supreme, subject only to such limitations as might be placed to his power by King or Pope, or by the presence of religious houses claiming to be outwith his authority. The right of appointing to the various parishes in the diocese was in different hands. Much of it was in the hands of religious houses, and all through the period there were efforts made by different Popes to get hold of what they could. In the beginning of the period the bishops were elected by the chapter, and the King's assent was always required, but by the end of it the Pope had secured the right to appoint practically every one.

Church and State were not at first looked upon as two separate entities, and great part of the early struggles with the Pope was due to the fact that he was determined to set up the Church as a separate body over against the State. The Church and State had grown up together, and until the presence of Papal legates thrust the matter into prominence, no one dreamed of the Church as a body external to the State. Thus in the early part of the period Queen Margaret was able to do a great deal for the Church, as being part of the machinery of her kingdom, and as

such subject to her regulation. It was the Pope and the Pope's teachings that produced the conceptions of "spiritual independence" we are familiar with, and that formed the great claim of the Reformers in the next age.

In 1225 the Scottish Church was empowered to hold provincial councils, consisting of all the bishops, abbots and conventual priors. The privilege, such as it was, does not seem to have been greatly valued or much used. Meetings were supposed to be held annually, and were under the presidency of a conservator who was elected annually. At those meetings decrees of general councils were promulgated and other matters of interest to the Church discussed. The idea did not produce much result. There was not much good in discussing and arranging about matters, as long as everything was subject, in the last issue, to an outside authority.

Far more important in some ways than the work of the bishops, was the work done by religious houses. Scottish Christianity had been from the very beginning of a monastic type, and as the Columban monks died out or were expelled, their place was filled by monks from houses in France or England. The new monks differed from the old mainly in two points. They were not as a rule missionary, and they were marked by an intense attachment to the See of Rome. In process of time almost every order of the day was represented in Scotland, and the

remains of their buildings, magnificent even in their ruin, tell us something of the position they attained to. When the great upheaval came in the middle of the sixteenth century, there were in Scotland eighty-two monasteries, twenty-four convents of nuns, and eighty-three hospitals, almost all of them at one time immensely rich, and exercising a vast influence all over the country. In the various places where they were the monastery was the centre of all industrial life. The monks were farmers, graziers, gardeners, builders, and they employed a large amount of labour. As owners of much land they were as a rule kindly lairds, and the holders of abbey lands were not the worst-off people.

The doors of the monastery were always open, and this was no light boon in an age when travelling was difficult, and houses of entertainment "fer asonder." They filled to a large extent the place which is taken by almshouses and infirmaries in our day, and it was in them that art and learning found its home. The sick peasant found himself well cared for inside the monastery or in one of its establishments, and many a clever boy owed to the monks all the learning he got, and all the power that learning gave. Prosperity proved too much for them, and their original purpose came largely to be forgotten, but the dispersion of their property among a set of greedy grasping nobles was probably not the lesser of two evils.

The teaching of the Church passed through many changes during the course of the Middle Ages. The old Celtic Church had sadly degenerated from its first ideal when Queen Margaret's reforming hand came upon it, but the declension from the faith by the Church under Roman dominion was greater still. Nominally holding to the three Creeds, it had completely overlaid them by much that was superstitious and heathen. The Bible, in an age when printing was unknown, was, of course, a sealed book to all but a very few. The vast majority of the clergy knew nothing of it as a whole, some had never even seen a complete copy. They were often so ignorant that they hardly understood the services they were constantly saying, and even in them the story of the Gospel was so buried under legends that it was hardly possible for them to have anything more than a mere superficial acquaintance with it. The ordinary Christian learned his Christianity mainly from the services of the Church, and the observance of the Christian year kept always before him the main facts of the Faith. The Mass was the chief service and the doctrine of Transubstantiation the recognized account of the mode of the Presence. From the year 1415 the laity were communicated in one kind only, but communion was very infrequent, and practically the whole of religion was comprised in "hearing mass." The idea of the priesthood had come to be nothing

more than that of a class of men who had the power "to create the Lord's Body and to offer sacrifices for the living and for the dead." The teaching of the Primitive Church about the intermediate state had blossomed out into the corruptions of purgatory, and money was freely invested in "masses" for the good or the delivery of the souls confined there. The beautiful conceptions of the communion of saints and the ministry of angels had been materialized in the grossest fashion, until the saints and angels practically occupied the place of the old heathen gods. The ordinary individual's conception of Christianity did not rise much above the fact of a certain awe of the power of the priest and an idea that wrong-doing in this life could be got over by paying a sufficient amount of money for "masses" and by bribing the intervention of the saints.

Celibacy had been the rule of the Columban monks, and it continued to be the rule of the Church for all its clergy throughout the Middle Ages. It was a rule that was fruitful of many scandals, and the statutes passed by various councils bear testimony to the widespread incontinency. Many of the clergy, including some of the highest rank, lived openly, in unblushing shame, with their concubines, and made provision for their lawless offspring out of the revenues of the Church. Nothing stirred the feelings of the people more than the loose lives of those who

were their spiritual guides, and nothing contributed so much to the downfall of the Church.

Socially and politically the power of the Church was enormous. As practically the only men of education in an ignorant age, the leaders of the Church were also the leaders of the State, while their descent from or connection with the nobility of the country gave them great influence in the settlement of affairs. When Scotland came to have a parliament, the spiritual estate was not the least important part of it. As a rule the country was far better served politically by the Church than by the nobility. With a few notable exceptions the conduct of the Scottish nobility at national crises is not creditable to them. Their connections with England made many of them play anything but a dignified part more than once in Scottish history. The bishops were by far the better patriots, and it was really they who first instilled into Scotsmen that love of freedom and resolution not to submit to tyranny that is one of their chief characteristics.

Of such learning as there was in the Middle Ages the Church was at once the patron and the teacher. The monastery schools did not perhaps do a great deal, but they were the forerunners of the Scottish Parish Schools, and a poor country like Scotland, that could boast three universities, all founded by Papal Bull in the fifteenth century, could hardly be said to be altogether lost in ignorance.

Few of the Scottish bishops or ecclesiastics of the Middle Ages attained great eminence, but names such as Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, Boece, the first Principal of Aberdeen University, Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, Bishop Elphinstone, the founder of Aberdeen University, Wardlaw the founder of St. Andrew's University, attest the fact that letters were not altogether forgotten.

The failure of the Church of the latter part of this period was a moral failure, and it is only by grasping the extent of that moral failure that we are in any way able to understand the fierceness of the Revolution that overthrew it. Some allusion has already been made to the shamelessly immoral lives of the clergy. The age was a coarse one and the clergy of the Church failed to rise above it, but immorality was not confined to sensual matters. The whole moral tone of the Church was low, and came out in everything it had to do with. Vast properties for the purposes of religion had come into the possession of the Church, mainly into the possession of the religious houses. Drawing the incomes of these properties, which had been intended to support the parish priests, the religious houses let out the religious duties to the cleric who would accept the lowest stipend. As a rule these vicars were men of almost no education, hardly able indeed to read their Office-book, and of tastes and attainments little, if any, higher than their parishioners.

Their object in many cases was not to do the work of a Christian minister, but simply to get their stipend as easily as possible. They seldom preached—very few were able to do that—and, with no resources in themselves, their life out of church was spent in the rough frolics of the village ale-house and the village green. With such living examples of Church teaching before them, it was not to be expected that the morality of the villages would be very high.

The evils of this system were aggravated towards the end of the fifteenth century by what was called holding livings *in commendam*. Men, many of whom were not in holy orders at all, were appointed to rich livings or abbacies, or priories. They did no duty themselves and seldom troubled themselves as to how or by whom the duty was done. They drew the revenues, which was all they cared about. Posts of this kind were usually reserved for illegitimate children of the sovereign or of nobles, or, sad to say, of prelates, and it was in this way that much of the Church's property was squandered. The system was at its worst just at the end of the period, and when the great upheaval came, commendators who became Reformers stuck to the property while they opposed the Church.

The obtaining of a benefice had become a mere commercial transaction. It was looked upon as a piece of property producing so much annual revenue, and was quite openly bought and sold.

The duty to be done was quite a minor consideration. The whole Church by the end of the fifteenth century was eaten through and through with corruption arising from greed of money. The old gifts of money, once the outcome of spiritual enthusiasm on great occasions, became Kirk dues to be demanded and exacted by force if necessary. The clergy had the making of laws to suit themselves, and they manipulated them to their own advantage.

By the middle of the sixteenth century in Scotland there were all the elements present that go to make a revolution. On the one side there was corruption in doctrine and morals, shameless neglect of plain duties, and extortion of money on every possible occasion : on the other side the rising of the new feeling of personal religion and the determination no longer to submit to foreign domination. When the two came into collision the only wonder is that the shock was not greater than it actually was.

CHAPTER VI

PRELIMINARY EFFORTS AT REFORM

The previous chapter has shown what the condition of the Church was in the age immediately preceding the Reformation. As a spiritual power it was practically dead. Now it was coming in contact all over Europe with a vague feeling of unrest. The revival of learning in the fifteenth century had opened up a world hitherto undreamed of. The old mediæval scholasticism, which had held the field for so many years, found itself ignominiously discarded in favour of the new classical learning. The invention of printing enabled books and pamphlets to be distributed broadcast, and men found themselves in touch with a new life, fresh and vigorous, and far removed from the artificialities of the Feudal System. It was the waking of a world after a long sleep, and it boded ill for existing systems that were not built upon truth and reality.

In religious matters, the action of Luther had precipitated events in Germany. His bold denunciation of the evils existing in the Church brought

things to a crisis, and gave the signal to many a one dreaming in secret of a purer faith and a simpler life. The magic spell which Rome had cast upon the world was snapped at once by the daring monk, and however far he himself may afterwards have wandered from the truth, he was undoubtedly the human instrument by which God proclaimed His judgment on all who distorted and perverted His revelation. Scotsmen were always a wandering race, and in the sixteenth century there was much intercourse between Scotland and Germany. Books and pamphlets and travellers' tales trickled through, and so great was the stir they caused that in 1525 the Scottish Parliament passed an act prohibiting any further importation of Lutheran books.

On the other side of the Tweed things moved more rapidly. Henry VIII. had been one of the first to enter the lists against Luther, but since then much had happened to change his relationship with the Pope. His quarrel over the divorce question had left him in a very awkward position. England stood almost alone among the nations, and some of them regarded England with no very friendly eyes. France, ever on the watch to get at England's weak point, had been the constant ally of Scotland, and now Henry's dread was that France would attack England through Scotland. His policy therefore aimed at weakening France by detaching Scotland, while he strengthened his own position by an alliance with the

Scots. To this he bent himself with all his energy, but Scotland was at that time well served by Cardinal Beaton, the only man in the country who was at all a match for the English king. The Scots remained true to the old French alliance and rejected all Henry's overtures of friendship. For the time the Church had triumphed, but the triumph placed men in a difficult position. Patriotism and hatred of England drew the Scots closer to France, and further away from any hope of a reformation in religion, but it left the country divided into two parties. To support Beaton was to quench all hopes of reform, while to join with Henry in the hope of reform was to run the risk of falling under England, and undoing all that had been done since the days of Bruce. For the time, reform had to be put on one side.

The idea of reform in the Church was not unfamiliar to the Scots. Long before the days of Henry VIII. there had been slight attempts, and the memory of these had not perished. The movement initiated by Wiclif in England in the fourteenth century had found adherents, chiefly in the west of Scotland, and gave the Church authorities no little trouble. In 1422 one James Resby, a priest, had been brought before Lawrence, abbot of Lindores, charged with heresy. What he taught is not very easy to make out, but apparently he proclaimed that the Pope is not the Vicar of Christ, and that a bad man ought not to be Pope. He was burned at St. Andrews.

A little later another disciple of Wiclif's, a Bohemian physician named Crawar, suffered the same penalty in the same place. He apparently was an agent of a wider body, sent to organize, and taught that the Church was wrong in its doctrine of the Mass, and of confession, and of the invocation of saints.

Burning effectually got rid of the troublesome teacher, but it did nothing to stop the spread of his opinions, and though men became cautious about expressing themselves, the new beliefs spread very rapidly. About the end of the fifteenth century the Archbishop of Glasgow had before him some thirty "Lollards of Kyle." They maintained that images should not be worshipped, that there is not in the Mass the natural body of Christ, that the Pope deceives people by his Bulls and Indulgences, that souls in purgatory are not profited by masses, that priests ought to marry, and that prayers should not be addressed to the Blessed Virgin. This was a great advance on anything the Church had hitherto met, but the archbishop, who was apparently a kind-hearted man, refused to take them seriously, and merely dismissed them with a warning to beware of novelties in religion.

The next case of heresy was a much more serious one. Patrick Hamilton, who was connected with some of the greatest families in the land, had obtained, early in life, the abbacy of Ferne, in Ross. In the course of his travels on

the continent he made the acquaintance of some of the leading Reformers, and from them imbibed the new teaching. On his return home, he gave some discourses on religious subjects, and speaking with much boldness, attracted the attention of the authorities. They paid little heed until some of his own relatives and friends became his converts, and then they took action. The Archbishop of St. Andrews invited him to a friendly conference, and under the pretence of sympathizing with him, admitted the need of reform. A friar named Campbell won the young man's confidence, and then betrayed him to the Archbishop. He was a man of great accomplishments and irreproachable character, but these were of no avail. He was condemned for teaching heresy, and burnt at St. Andrews in 1528. His sufferings at the time of his death were very great, but he bore them all with such patience and resignation as impressed all beholders, and gained many friends for the new cause. Men began seriously to inquire what kind of faith it could be that could inspire a young man with so true Christian spirit, and the result, as it was quaintly expressed, was that "the reek of Patrick Hamilton infected all on whom it blew."

The bishops were now thoroughly alarmed. Hamilton's case had revealed evidences of "heresy" where it was least suspected, and no other way occurred to them but the way of repression. Alexander Seton, a Dominican friar,

and confessor to King James, astonished his hearers in Lent, 1534, by telling them that the pardon of sin could be obtained only by sincere repentance, and through the merits of Christ. He rebuked the scandalous lives of bishops and clergy, and only escaped burning by fleeing to England. Another monk, who in confession had expressed admiration of Hamilton's teaching, was less fortunate, and was burned at St. Andrews. The Church authorities seem to have lost their heads, for they struck out, right and left, wherever there was the least sound of "heresy." Edinburgh and Glasgow contributed their quota of burnings, and one poor woman was drowned because while in the pains of labour she refused to call upon the Blessed Virgin. The vicar of Dollar was rebuked by his bishop in words that have become famous, because he preached to his people out of the Bible. "I have lived well these many years," said the bishop, "and never knew either the Old or the New Testament. I am content with my missal and breviary." Busy as the Church was in persecuting, many escaped to England, which was then the asylum for all persecuted Reformers. Some took service in the Church there, while others waited till things were more favourable in Scotland, and then returned to carry on their teaching as before.

The Scottish Reformation differed in its origin from the English, in its strong personal character. No question of politics came in until the country

had been well roused up by the persecution and burning of individual Reformers. The Church, however, was too closely allied to the State for political questions to be long kept out, and it was when matters were in this condition that Henry VIII. began his attempts to win over James. It was arranged that the two kings should meet at York to talk over matters and to come to an agreement about the future. At the last moment Beaton managed to prevent the meeting, and Henry, after waiting in vain for some days, in a rage declared war upon Scotland. It was the very thing Beaton thought would make the success of his policy, but his plans were completely foiled by the discontent of great part of the army, and the subsequent defeat of the Scots at Solway Moss in 1542. The nobles were in no mood for fighting England, but were far more anxious for some change in Church matters. The King died soon after the rout, and left behind him as successor an infant a few days old—Mary, "daughter of debate." Scots affairs were thrown into worse confusion than ever, and the prospect of a long Regency, with its usual quarrellings and intriguings, made the winter of 1542 very dismal indeed.

To the English King, the death of James seemed to present a more favourable opportunity for carrying out his plan of uniting the two countries. The Earl of Arran, who had become Regent, was a weak man compared with Beaton, and was easily

persuaded to agree to Henry's proposal for a marriage between his son and the Scots queen. Henry released the Scottish prisoners taken at Solway Moss, and sent them back to Scotland to promote his interests. Arran became one of the Reformed, and even appointed two of them his chaplains. Things had gone on fairly smoothly with him because he had got his one opponent Beaton out of the way by imprisoning him till all was arranged. When he thought things were quite certain he released the cardinal, who at once set himself to undo what had been done. By working on the personal fears of Arran he got him to recant his reformed opinions and to be publicly reconciled to the Church. This was a great blow to the Reformers after having had such an easy time, but they were still strong and increasing. In 1544 they gained their first real success in obtaining a bill allowing possession of copies of the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue without any penalty for hearing or reading them, and in spite of much opposition many copies of the Bible were circulated.

After the apostasy of the Regent from the new Faith, Beaton came into full power again, and at once set himself, with his usual energy, to straighten out public affairs. A council of the Church was held at St. Andrews in 1546, at which he presided. He put his finger on the weak spot at once by practically admitting the truth of much that Reformers alleged. He charged the bishops and clergy to set their own houses in

order by reforming their lives, and as a remedy for the present distress he advised greater diligence in searching out and arresting heretics. An opportunity soon presented itself of putting his own advice into action. George Wishart, one of the leading preachers among the Reformers, and a man who was apparently in all their secret counsels, was apprehended, and burned at St. Andrews in 1546. He had been a student at Cambridge, and was, as far as was known, a scholar of blameless life and character. His name was, it was thought, mixed up in a plot to murder the cardinal, but no absolute proof of his complicity was produced. His execution proved the turning point of Beaton's career, and of the Reforming movement. Up till then, Beaton had commended himself to most people by his patriotism and his ability. From that date he declined, and the hatred which the death of Wishart had aroused found vent only in the death of the cardinal. St. Andrews Castle, where he lived, was attacked by an armed band of Reformers, who, after forcing an entrance to the cardinal's room, foully murdered him. The act, however guilty Beaton may have been, was quite unjustifiable, and it is difficult to understand the sympathy with it that some of the preachers showed. Scotsmen of that age were well accustomed to deeds of blood, and Lyndsay's couplet probably expressed the opinion of most of them—

> "Altho' the deed was foully done
> The loon was weel away."

It was not an auspicious beginning for a religious movement, and it revealed the depths to which people had sunk.

Beaton was by far the ablest man of his day. He was the only man who had the courage and the diplomatic skill to meet Henry VIII., and but for his having been on the losing side his excellences would have been much better known. His scandalously immoral life, which, for a bishop, is to us almost inconceivable, did not strike his contemporaries —except perhaps the Reformers—as anything extraordinary. His death cleared out of the way the greatest obstacle to reform, and enabled things to be carried with a rush that would not have happened had he lived.

The successful murderers of the cardinal held St. Andrews Castle for some fourteen months, during which time a new actor appeared on the scene. John Knox had been a friend of Wishart's, and had regularly attended his preaching. He was probably in priest's orders, but he now openly threw in his lot with the Reformers, and joined the company in St. Andrews. He preached regularly in the parish church, and gathered a large congregation. Practically, the country was by this time in a state of civil war. France had come to the help of the Government and the Church, the Reformers were secretly aided by England, while the people of the country ranged themselves on one side or the other. Everywhere there was great excitement, and the

churches were the scenes of much preaching and disputing. Knox, who was by far the ablest of the preachers, was effectually silenced when St. Andrews Castle was taken by the French in 1547, and he and his companions were sent to the French galleys, where he remained till 1549. His fate was not undeserved, for having even temporarily taken sides with such a set of desperadoes.

The Church now began to consider whether other means might not be more effectual. Burning heretics only made more heretics, and accordingly new tactics were adopted by a council held in Edinburgh in 1549. The Reformers' case against the Church, so far at least as morality was concerned, was fully admitted, and had the same steps been taken twenty years earlier the Scottish Reformation would probably have taken quite a different colour. By this council the clergy were ordered to put away their concubines, and all children born of such. Bishops were forbidden to keep in their houses drunkards, whoremongers, night-walkers, buffoons, blasphemers, profane swearers. Generally all clerics were commanded to dress soberly, to keep their faces shaven and their heads tonsured, and to abstain from secular pursuits. Resolutions were passed dealing with preaching and teaching, the visitation of monasteries and nunneries, and for preventing unqualified persons holding benefices, and for reforming clerical courts. It was too late for such methods. The country was thoroughly aroused, and the

voice of sober reason had little influence. Another belated attempt at reform from the doctrinal side was made in 1552. In that year there was published at St. Andrews, with the authority of Archbishop Hamilton, a catechism, or, rather, short treatise, dealing with the teaching of the Church. It was ordered to be read every Sunday and Holyday for half-an-hour before High Mass, and was a real honest attempt to teach the people. It consisted of four parts—The Commands, Exposition of the Creed, Declaration of the Seven Sacraments, Exposition of the Pater Noster—and to these were added some instructions on prayers to the saints and for the departed. Its omissions were more remarkable than its actual contents, and showed that the Reformers were making an impression. There is no mention of the Pope, or of Indulgences, and the Ave Maria is printed without the usual prayer, "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners now and at the hour of death." It is perfectly loyal to the Church of the day, but is not distinctively antagonistic to the Reformed teaching. Again, however, it was too late. The catechism had little influence on men who were determined to have a clean sweep, and it disappeared from view almost entirely. Until recently, when it was republished by two different editors, it was practically unknown unless to scholars.

The death of Edward VI. of England was of great importance. With the succession of a

Romish Queen, and the consequent reinstatement of Romish doctrine, England was no longer the safe asylum for Reformers that it had been. Englishmen rather began to flock to Scotland, and their coming gave the Scottish movement a new impetus. As yet there had been no actual separation from the Church. Reformers attended the Church services, and supplemented them by services of their own wherever possible. The first impulse towards separation came from Knox. In 1555 he visited Scotland, and declaimed with all his power against taking part in the "idolatry of the Mass." Still people were slow to move, and it was not till 1557 that the Reformers separated themselves from the Church and set up a new communion. Many of the clergy were coming over to them, and Knox was invited back. Measures were immediately taken, not for continued separation and organization on their own lines, but for the complete overthrow of the Church. The old Scottish plan of making a band was adopted, and the agreement signed by the nobles who were on the Reforming side. They spoke of themselves with great unction as "the congregation of the Lord," while they described their opponents as "the congregation of Satan," a method of proceeding that did not speak well for their Christian charity or spirituality.

At first, in spite of their assumptions, they were very modest in their demands. They asked that the common prayers should be read weekly in

all parish churches by the curates, if qualified, by others, if they refused or were not able. They also asked for permission to hold meetings by themselves for exposition of Scripture in private houses, until they should be able to provide faithful ministers. The influence of England is apparent in these demands, for they were just the points that English Reformers had contended for —common prayers and Scripture reading—and it is now a well-established fact that the English Book of Common Prayer was for several years in regular use in Scottish parish churches. The model which the earliest Scottish Reformers proposed to themselves was the Church of England.

Again in 1558 they approached the Regent, making some fresh demands. Their petition showed again the influence of the English element, for they asked that all differences should be settled by reference to the Scriptures and the ancient fathers, and that the Sacraments should be ministered in the vulgar tongue. The Queen Regent was sympathetic, but unable to do more than give permission to hold their own meetings.

Once again, and for the last time, the Church met in council in 1559 to concert new measures of reform. A petition from the lords of the congregation, as the Reformers styled themselves, was presented, asking practically the same things as before, and making some fresh demands. Now they asked that the bishops should be elected by the gentry of the diocese, and the parish priests

by the people, while they wished all the services in English. The council naturally, bound as it was, refused their request, and both parties recognized that the decisive moment of the struggle had come. They separated—the council never to meet again, the Reformers to prepare for what was impending. Suddenly the Queen Regent, doubtless got at by Church leaders, denounced the Reformers as rebels, and gave them the option of submitting unconditionally or drawing the sword in their own defence. They chose the latter.

At the beginning of the war the Reformers were greatly helped by an apparent breach of faith on the part of the Queen Regent. After having come to an arrangement with them she caused them to be proclaimed as outlaws, and in consequence, several who had hitherto supported the Government came over to the other side. Knox's preaching too was of great value to the Reformers in stirring up people. At Perth, at Crail, at Anstruther, and at St. Andrews he roused the passions of the mob, and set a-going that destruction of churches which became so deplorable a feature of the movement. The Government took possession of Leith and summoned help from France, while the Reformers were secretly aided by England. All their attempts to storm Leith were unsuccessful, but in the end the town was given up and a treaty of peace arranged. Both sides agreed to forget the war, or to look upon all that had been done by nobles and people as

having been done in defence of their liberties. The Reformers had now the upper hand, and when next Parliament met the struggle was practically over. A confession of faith drawn up by Knox, was presented to it and accepted. The authority of the Pope was abjured, and penalties enacted against all sayers or hearers of Mass.

Though the bishops and spiritual peers were present when the Act was passed in August 1560 there was hardly a voice lifted in defence of the Church. Its fate, as the Established Church of Scotland, had been sealed ever since the day political questions entered into the matter.

This first stage of the Scottish Reformation has several well-defined characteristics which deserve notice. It was, to begin with, an entirely religious movement, and it was the English plotting that first gave it a political aspect. The question of Presbyterianism did not emerge at all in this period. The one object was to get rid of the morally and doctrinally corrupt Church. If any idea of a future arrangement was entertained at all it took the shape of the Church of England. Foreign and continental ideas came in later.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE FOR PRESBYTERY

(*a*) *The Church from* 1560—1572

The period on which we now enter is perhaps the most complicated part of all Scottish Church history, and perhaps the most important to understand aright. The successful Reformers had now to face the most difficult part of their work. Opposition to an established system is a simple matter, but while a stroke of the pen could destroy the work of a thousand years, it was not quite so easy to provide something to take its place. The uprising had ended in a revolution. The whole Church—organization, doctrine, discipline—had gone in one fell ruin, and the Church had to be set up, in the Reformers' own phrase, *de novo*. Scotland was still Christian so far as individual Scotsmen were concerned, but it had made a complete break with the continuity of the past.

The first step was to provide themselves with a Creed, and this was done very promptly, and as far as language goes, very satisfactorily. The Creed, which was presented to Parliament and

accepted by it bears strong evidence on the face of it of the influences that had been at work in composing it. It was framed after the model of the Articles of the Church of England, and in many cases discusses the same questions in almost the same language. The presence of disturbing elements among Reformers is seen in its discussion of such questions as Election; but it is on the whole a very creditable and worthy compilation. Its teaching on the Sacraments is, for the age, remarkable. "We utterly deny the vanitie of those that affirm Sacraments to be nothing else but naked and bair signes. We assuritly believe that by Baptism we are ingraffit in Christ Jesus to be made partakers of His justice by which our Sins are coverit and remittet, and also that in the supper richtly usit Christ Jesus is sa joynit with us that He becomes the very nourishment and food of our souls." It was this confession that moulded Scottish theological teaching until the Westminster Confession became the authoritative teaching of the Established Church in 1690. Throughout all the changes that took place in Scotland, and they were not few or unimportant, between 1560 and 1690 this confession remained supreme. Other confessions came in by the way, and were accepted as not "inconsistent with the doctrine of this Church," but this continued to hold its place under Presbyterian and Episcopalian alike. It was a genuine product of Scottish thought, and its moderate

tone, and its high and fine doctrine entitle it to a large place in our regard.

Much experience in theological work made the drawing up of a confession a comparatively simple matter to the Reformers. The case was very different when they came to deal with its organization. Here there was absolutely nothing left to build upon. As far as the spiritual part was concerned there was nothing. Bishops and other clerics still sat in Parliament as peers of the realm, but they would have nothing to do with the organizing of the Reformed body.

A scheme which had to be produced, practically at a moment's notice, to take the place of an organization that had been a thousand years in the making, would hardly be expected to be perfect or final, and the most characteristic thing about the new scheme was it elasticity and want of finality. Moreover, the First Book of Discipline in which the scheme was outlined, though accepted by the Church, was not accepted by Parliament, and was much more of the nature of a provisional arrangement to bridge over a difficulty than a permanent settlement.

The backbone of the organization was the minister of the parish, and for him the one necessary qualification, in addition to knowledge and moral character, was the call of the congregation. Laying on of hands at ordinations was abolished "for albeit the Apostles used imposition of hands, yet, seeing the miracle is ceased,

the using of the ceremonies we judge not necessary." This was a departure from the practice of the Church of all ages, which was by and by restored, but the enactment shows the leaven that was now working in Scotland. The number of parish priests under the old *régime* had been very large, but the number of ministers appointed now was only a mere fraction of the number required, and untold harm was done by the condition of spiritual destitution into which a great many places were plunged.

To assist the minister, and to supply his duties, where no minister could be placed, a new order of readers was devised. These were mostly employed in reading prayers on Sundays, and were most strictly kept to their own office. In spite of the fact that so great a change had been made in the ministry, the old priestly conceptions still survived, and readers were forbidden to baptize or marry or administer Holy Communion. The office was abolished when Presbytery came to its full growth, but it lingered in remote places down to the eighteenth century. The majority of the readers were laymen, but employment was found in this way for many who had been priests but who were unable to preach.

The most remarkable device of the new establishment, however, was its system of superintendents. To a certain extent these took the place the bishops had held, and it was intended to provide as many superintendents as there had been

bishops. Each had a diocese assigned, within which it was his duty to plant kirks and provide ministers, in addition to exercising a general supervision. He had to try candidates for the ministry and admit them, and all ministers were bound to pay him canonical obedience. He had power to depose and translate ministers, and he appointed members for the General Assembly. He held diocesan synods and appointed fasts, and was a court of appeal from lower judicatories. The question of divorce was assigned to him, and it was his duty to restore by absolution those who were under discipline.

The system was thus, it will be seen, neither Presbyterian nor Episcopalian. The matter of presbyteries had not yet been thought of, and there was certainly no ministerial parity. On the other hand, under the unfamiliar guise of superintendents, ministers, and readers, the old orders of bishops, priests and deacons were present in principle. From the Church point of view the whole thing was vitiated by the want of continuity. The superintendents had not had, according to the Church view, any valid consecration, and were not of course competent to ordain others. Many of the ministers and superintendents had been ordained in the Church, but the real meaning of ordination had been lost. One of the best of the superintendents was a layman pure and simple.

It was a most difficult task the Reformers had before them. They had no time to get theories

of the ministry, but judged from the concrete examples before them. Knowing what these were like, our judgment of their conduct is considerably restrained, and if we cannot but regret the break in the succession that occurred, we can at any rate give them credit for having tried to do the best they could.

The worship of the Church for many years after 1560 was wholly liturgical. For several years before that, as has been already mentioned, the English Prayer Book was widely used in Scottish parishes. It held its place for a time after the new state of things was established, but it was gradually displaced and its place taken by the Book of Geneva, and in its fuller form and under another name by the Book of Common Order. The change of service book was due to many causes. The old Book of Edward VI. had been revised and some changes made in a direction that did not suit some of the leading Reformers. Knox had been a prominent man in the colony of English refugees abroad, where the tendencies were all ultra-Protestant, and the Church of Geneva was felt to be more in harmony with the Scottish. All these tendencies combined to oust the English book, and the order of the Assembly gave the new book a good start. The idea of purely extempore worship had not yet taken possession of the Scots, and this book held its place till it was displaced by the Directory some eighty years later.

The new body did its best to cut all connection

with the old. The observance of the Christian year, which was as old as Christianity in Scotland, was voted superstitious and abolished. The Assembly usually met on Christmas day, but never under its time-honoured name, always as the 25th of December. Daily services were the rule, at least in the towns, and there was preaching once or twice a week. Once a month was looked upon as the minimum for Holy Communion. The Sunday services began as a rule at 8 a.m., and children were catechized in the afternoon. In all Church matters the General Assembly was supreme. It was a very small body, and was practically self-elected. Most of the members were either the leaders in the movement or had charges near Edinburgh. There was no subject and no department of life which did not come under its control, and the rule of the bishops was mildness itself compared with the autocracy of this Church court.

Such was the system for which Scotland had broken with the Church of the past, and which held sway over all Scotsmen from 1560 to 1572. Except that its members professed at least a purer faith than their predecessors, it had not much to recommend it. Its rule was not so kindly as that of the old Church had been, and it never got hold of the life of the people. There was no finality about it, and no one could say what it would grow to. The one thing we can say with certainty is that it was not Presbyterianism, any more than it was Episcopacy.

The leading figure of this period stands out very distinctly. Knox had many of the faults of his generation, but there are some points in his life that are not easily explained, but as the leader of the movement he is head and shoulders above any of his contemporaries. But for him the movement would probably have died out in the beginning. As a declaimer he had few equals, and he knew well how to stir up the enthusiasm of the multitude. Like most men of his day he was intolerant to a degree. Toleration was not a virtue in the sixteenth century, and his fault is more the fault of the times than of the man. He pleases us least in his relationship with Queen Mary. He was certainly no courtier, nor was the work he was engaged in courtier's work, but common politeness to a woman, to say nothing of a young queen and a widow, is demanded of every man, and Knox was positively rude and overbearing to Mary. The reports of the interviews, though edited by himself, and we have lately been taught to receive Knox's statements cautiously, do not raise him in our opinion. Mary comes out very creditably from each one, and shows a far greater appreciation of true religion than does Knox.

The saying which describes him as one who "never feared the face of man" is probably a poetic imagination. There are one or two episodes, notably his absence from Scotland at a critical period, which are not easily explained, if

he was so void of fear. The real fact is that in living in a very difficult age, and guiding his life by the light he had, he shows signs of human weakness. We do not value him the less for that. We believe most thoroughly in his sincerity and earnestness of purpose, and we see in him an instrument in God's hands performing a very difficult task in a very human manner. His belief in education for the youth of Scotland and his attempts to get it improved, were far in advance of most people of his day. Later on, in the legislation of 1616 and 1633 under episcopal auspices, and in 1696 under Presbyterian, his work bore fruit in the system of parish schools which has done so much for Scotland.

He has been sometimes claimed as a Presbyterian and the father of Presbyterianism in Scotland, but the claim does not seem to be made out. A Presbyterian of the stricter sort he certainly was not. His connection with the Church of England makes that clear. On the other hand, he certainly was not an Episcopalian as we understand the word. What he did in Scotland forbids that. His position is not easy to define. A priest of the Church drawing up and carrying out an organization, such as Scotland presented, does not offer himself readily for classification. He did a work which perhaps no other man of his time could have done, and though we think it was far from perfect, and marked by much that was wrong in principle, we are none the less

certain that he did it sincerely, and as he conceived himself led. In an age when almost everybody was grasping at the spoils of the Church, Knox played the leading part and never profited himself a single penny. Higher praise than that cannot be given.

(*b*) *The Titular or Tulchan Bishops.* 1572—1576.

The Act of Parliament which had in 1560 abolished the jurisdiction of the Pope, and made the saying of Mass illegal, had left untouched its own constitution, and bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastical persons, continued to sit in Parliament, though the Church which gave them their title no longer legally existed. As time went on, the spiritual estate began to die out, and a curious legal question was raised as to whether Acts, passed by a mutilated Parliament, would have complete validity. The same difficulty, under another form, was raised by the Church itself. When the revenues of the Disestablished Church came to be dealt with, Parliament agreed that one-third should belong to the original holders in life rent. As these life renters died out, the new Establishment claimed that their share should be added to the general fund, but this the nobility were unwilling to agree to, and the Government settled this claim and provided against the raising of the claim of invalidity by appointing certain persons to sit, under the old titles, and drawing

the old revenues. Erskine of Dun, a layman, who had been appointed one of the new superintendents, raised the whole question to another level by a letter which he wrote to the Regent. He pointed out that the Church alone could create ecclesiastical offices, and claimed for the bishops or superintendents the right to appoint to all offices carrying an ecclesiastical title. "To take this power from the bishop or superintendent is to take away the office of a bishop, that no bishop be in the Kirk, which were to alter and abolish the order that God has appointed in his Kirk. A greater offence and contempt of God can no prince do than to set up by his authority men in spiritual offices, so as to create bishops and pastors of the Kirk." (Lawson, p. 100.)

The Government had been acting mainly for its own profit. Church lands and Church revenues were gradually disappearing, and in the face of the opposition of such men as Erskine it was necessary to do something. A conference of ministers, superintendents and commissioners attended by sixty-two persons was held at Leith in 1572. This meeting unanimously agreed that the proceedings should have the force of a General Assembly, and they appointed a committee to work with a committee of the Privy Council, and to draw up a report. This report, which was accepted by a General Assembly held at Perth the same year, proposed a new method altogether for the solution of the difficulty, which amounted practically

to a revolution in religious matters, and the adoption of the system of the Church of England. The terms of this concordat are as follows—

1. The old names, archbishops and bishops, are to be retained and the old dioceses to be kept—at least till the King's majority or consent of Parliament.
2. Bishops to be endowed with the qualities described by St. Paul, and elected by the chapter, which is to consist of learned and godly ministers.
3. No person to be appointed to an ecclesiastical office unless qualified to perform the duty.
4. Minister to receive ordination from the bishop, or, if no bishop be yet placed, from the superintendent.
5. All ministers to subscribe the Confession of Faith.

The change was ostensibly made in the interests of the Church. Its real nature became apparent in the sequel, and gave rise to the opprobrious nickname which was its death. Bishops were appointed for the various sees, but the greater part of the revenues went to enrich some lord or nobleman, who took care that no one was appointed who did not first arrange matters with him. In the highlands of Scotland it was the custom, when a cow refused to give milk, to deceive her by stuffing a calf's skin with straw

and standing it by her. Such stuffed calves were called tulchans, and the bishops of 1572 were mere stuffed-out skins by means of which a grasping nobility drained off Church revenues. The system never had a fair start. It never rose above the nickname, and it was apparently a mere device to get money. From the Episcopalian standpoint it was of course vitiated from the start, by the fact that its "Bishops" had no real consecration, but that deficiency would probably have been supplied in time. At any rate it had the indirect acquiescence of Knox, who was anxious honestly to carry out the concordat, and had his advice been taken, matters might have turned out differently. He urged the Church to see that the "third" which the bishops got was properly accounted for, but this was not done, and the financial troubles of the Church grew from bad to worse. The Regent cared little for anybody or any system, except that by which he could fill his own pocket, and though the titulars lasted on, in an intermittent kind of way, till 1610, they received their death blow in 1576. The system was of little value, and is of little interest to us, except as showing that the principle of episcopacy had never been lost sight of, and that Presbyterianism did not spring up all at once.

(c) *The coming in of Presbyterianism.* 1576—1592

Hitherto the influences that had affected the Scottish Reformation had come mainly from England. The influence that came in, and finally upset the system of Tulchan Bishops, came from the continent, and was marked by its extreme republicanism, in politics as well as in religion. The question of the ministers' stipends had not been advanced any nearer solution by the new *régime*. It was, if anything, in rather a worse condition, and things were becoming desperate. Just at this juncture, Andrew Melville appeared on the scene. A native of Forfarshire, he had, after a brilliant university career in Scotland, proceeded to the continent, where he became intimate with some of the leading Reformers. Their teaching appealed to his keen logical mind, and he returned to Scotland, politically a convinced Republican, ecclesiastically a Presbyterian. The scheme of polity adopted in Scotland had nothing to recommend it but expediency, and that had been more or less of a failure latterly. To attack and overthrow this scheme became Melville's great object. The upholders of the established system were not overthrown in a day, and had a good deal to say for themselves. Their strength lay in their being established, their weakness in having no definite principle to rest upon. Melville was strong in resting his policy upon clear, definite lines, and

in insisting not only upon its intrinsic excellence, but upon its foundation in Scripture. At first he proceeded with great caution. In 1575 he got a motion proposed and carried in the Assembly, "That a commission be appointed to inquire whether the bishops, as they now are in the Kirk of Scotland, have their functions in the Word of God or not, or if the chapter appointed for creating them ought to be tolerated in this Reformed Kirk." The report of this commission was a very cautious document. They stated that they did not think it expedient presently directly to answer the first question, but they gave some opinions wherein they agreed as to the office of bishop or superintendent. "The name of bishop is common to all who have a particular charge, as well to preach the Word as to minister Sacraments. Out of this number may be chosen some . . . to oversee and visit such reasonable bounds as the Kirk may appoint . . . to appoint ministers . . . to appoint elders and deacons . . . to suspend ministers . . . with the consent of the ministers aforesaid (of that province)." This was not very high ground to take, and it merely encouraged Melville and his party to carry the war to closer quarters.

The year 1578 marked the first substantial victory of the party. In the Assembly of that year it was resolved, that bishops, and all others having ecclesiastical functions, be called by their own names, that no bishops be elected or made before the next General Assembly, and that no person

should be collated to a vacant benefice until after that meeting.

At another Assembly held in the same year the attack was continued. A new book of policy, the second book of discipline, had been sanctioned by the Assembly, and every effort was made to bring the bishops into line with it. The Bishop of Glasgow made a spirited defence of his order, but the tide had now completely turned and was flowing strongly in favour of Presbytery. Parliament, though the Assembly was altering the constitution of the State (the bishops being Lords Spiritual), allowed the Assembly to go on its way, but steadily refused to legalize the new "Policie."

The struggle was coming to an end, however, though the actual legal establishment of Presbytery was still a good many years distant. In 1580 at an Assembly held in Dundee it was resolved "that the pretended office of a bishop is unlawful, having neither foundation nor warrant in the Word of God: all such as brooked the said office are to demit it, and to cease from preaching the Word and administering the Sacraments, until they have been admitted anew by the General Assembly, under pain of excommunication." Most of the Tulchan bishops showed the principle that was in them by submitting to this resolution, degrading and stultifying as it was, and the way was now practically clear for the next step. The country was divided into presbyteries, instead of dioceses, and from this date, though the bishops

were still legally in power, Scottish Presbyterianism begins. The first presbytery—the Presbytery of Edinburgh—was set up in 1581.

Though practically over now, the struggle continued in a sort of guerrilla warfare for several years longer. The bishops were still legally in possession, and Parliament had not yet submitted itself to the dictation of the Kirk. In 1584 it asserted itself in a series of acts that came to be known as the Black Acts, and that gave the first real reverse to Melville and his friends. It enacted, "The ancient jurisdiction of the three estates is ratified, and it is treason to speak evil of any one of them: the King's supremacy over all persons and causes is confirmed: the King's licence to meet is necessary for all convocations: the chief jurisdiction of the Church is in the hands of the bishops." All readers, ministers and masters of colleges were ordered to subscribe these Acts within forty days.

This was undoubtedly a serious blow, and as such it was keenly felt by the Presbyterian party. It put new heart into the other side, but it was a mere temporary success after all. As the struggle for power went on, the King was gradually driven back, until in 1592 Presbytery triumphed completely. The obnoxious acts of 1584 were repealed, the Presbyterian Church and its courts were legally established, and all collation to benefices was given to presbyteries and not to bishops. Thus came to an end the titular bishops in

the Church. There were few who regretted their departure, for their tenure of office had not been exceptionally brilliant or successful, and their position was merely misleading. If Scotland was to have bishops at all, it was better that she should wait for those who had been validly consecrated, according to the Catholic tradition, than that she should be burdened with sham bishops, created for purposes of mere political expediency.

(*d*) *The "golden age" and gradual decline of Presbytery.* 1592—1610

The period from 1592 to 1596 is usually reckoned the golden age of Presbytery, and those years were perhaps its most fruitful period. The discipline was in full working order, and every part of the land and every person in it felt its strength. There was no concern of man's that it did not interfere in, and no state of life that did not come under its care. The popery of one pope was bad enough, but the high-handed autocracy of presbyteries was far worse. The King himself was "dealt with" by a deputation of the Assembly in regard to his sins, and the late hours the Queen kept, and the balls she had at court. James had been in a special good humour in 1592, and ready to agree to almost anything the ministers asked, but it did not survive long under such inquisitorial treatment. He was never easy under Presbytery, and if he strained every nerve to get rid of it, the

meddlesomeness of the ministers was largely to blame.

The steps by which the King gradually undermined the established Presbyterianism, and prepared the way for a real episcopacy, are not difficult to trace, but the acknowledged want of straightforwardness on the King's part does not raise either him or the ministers in our opinion. In 1597 the General Assembly was induced to seek a place in Parliament for a certain number of the ministers, and next year this was agreed to. The number of those new spiritual members was to be the same as had formerly been the case, and their election was to be partly in the hands of the Church, partly in the hands of the King. The Assembly which met at Montrose in 1600 made regulations for these members. They were not to assume the old names, but were to be called commissioners, and were to be chosen for one year only. On a vacancy occurring the King was to select one out of a list of six names furnished by the Church.

The King, who in pursuing his ends was sometimes careless of the means, irritated people and rendered them suspicious by suddenly himself appointing these commissioners as bishops. The whole aim of the new procedure was disclosed, and the King's plan almost destroyed, by his thus directly violating the agreement with the Assembly.

The whole position of affairs was completely changed in 1603 by the death of Elizabeth. James

found himself, with no opposition, King of England as well as of Scotland, and in a position of much greater power than he had ever been. He found himself, too, surrounded in England by ecclesiastics who were more pliant than Andrew Melville and his friends, and more willing to accept their theology from him than were the Scots ministers. His one idea, after he became King of the United Kingdom, was to unite the Churches as well as the crowns. As the Established Church of Scotland was then ordered, such a step was of course impossible, but it was possible to get that order changed. To dwell on the various steps by which that change was brought about would not be edifying or pleasant reading. Suffice it to say, that having got rid of the leading ministers by banishment or imprisonment, he made his own power responsible for the rest. No cause could prosper that started in such questionable ways, and the new order of things started with this strain upon it. An assembly at Linlithgow was persuaded—some would say bribed—to agree to the appointment of constant moderators in the synods. The bishops were given by parliament their old powers in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes, and the Court of High Commission was set up in Scotland. A law which had some years previously transferred to the Crown, lands attached to the bishopries, was repealed, so that the coming prelates might have an income secured. The country, with the exception of a small section of

the ministers, was apathetic, and merely looked on, saying little but thinking much. At last all was ready for the grand *coup*. The King had prepared the explosion; the Church itself must apply the match. An Assembly was held at Glasgow in 1610, at which the following important resolutions were passed, with only five dissentients, and seven who refused to vote.

1. The bishops were to be constant moderators in all synods.
2. Bishops were to be sole judges for excommunication and absolution.
3. Bishops were to ordain and depose ministers, and to visit in the dioceses.
4. Bishops were to be subject to the General Assembly.
5. All assemblies were to be held by permission of the King only, and no minister was to speak against these resolutions.

So far as numbers went in the Assembly, the propositions were adopted almost unanimously, and if we could believe in the freedom of the Assembly everything would be clear. That, however, is just what we cannot do. There seems little reason to doubt that the Assembly was engineered, and that the King's purpose, good and right as it was, was completely spoiled by the methods of its beginning.

Titular bishops had been appointed in 1608 to all the sees, and now three of them, Spottiswoode,

Lamb, and Hamilton, were summoned to London by the King to receive consecration at the hands of the English bishops. To avoid raising old questions about the supremacy, neither of the English archbishops took any part, but the ceremony was performed by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath.

It was only fifty years since the Scottish Parliament had abjured the Pope, and Scotland had already passed through three different religious conditions, and was beginning a fourth, not under the most favourable auspices.

(*e*) *General conditions of the period.* 1560—1610

The general religious condition of the period now passed under review is very well known to us from various sources. The "Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland" gives an account of the earlier stages of the religious movement, which is unsurpassed for the fulness of its details, and the exact accounts of the procedure of the various Assemblies, while the Perth MS. registers give a contemporary account of the ordinary life of the people. From these sources it is comparatively easy to form a picture of what things were like. The great mass of the people was extremely ignorant, and quite incapable of making a decision on the various questions involved. Few, besides the ministers, were able to read, and though the Bible was circulated in English, its influence on

the people generally was not great. The long and bitter struggles that went on were confined to the ministers and the King and his counsellors. The ministers had the advantage of being able to stir up the passions of the people by their declamation, but left to themselves, the people were extremely apathetic. Even the ministers, with the exception of a few of the leaders, possessed little learning, and were very little able to come to a reasoned conclusion on the great questions at stake. The shameless appropriation of Church property which took place in the early years of the movement, left only a very small amount for stipends, and the majority of the ministers were in a state of chronic poverty. The resolutions in the Assemblies show the straits to which ministers were sometimes reduced to eke out a scanty living, and most of the struggles between the Government and the Church had relation to the matter of stipends.

The Old Testament, much more than the New, was the foundation of all their preaching, and their sermons, especially in times when the struggle was particularly keen, took the form of political addresses and personal invective. So much was this the case that a special act had to be passed in 1597 forbidding preaching of such a kind.

Doctrinally, the Confession of 1560 held sway, and in spite of many attempts the Second Book of Discipline was never completely legalized. Morally, the country does not seem to have pro-

fited much from the change of faith. The Assembly reports are full of cases of discipline, and very severe punishments were inflicted. The Church was not satisfied with merely proclaiming the Gospel message. It made an attempt to carry out the teaching of the Bible as in the old Jewish days, and its regulations reached into every condition of life. From the grossest moral sins down to scolding women, it attempted to rule all matters, and even passed laws regulating the dress and behaviour of ministers' wives.

Romanists were not many in the country, nor did they have an easy time of it. To differ from the ministers on any point of doctrine or practice was to court persecution, quite as severe as anything in the old days.

Scotland suffered from its nearness to England. It was the asylum of all the cranks and faddists who could not get their own way in the Church of England, but who found a congenial soil among the discontented ministers of Scotland. English Puritan ideas began to take root and grow, and many of the views and habits of those English refugees found a lasting home in Scotland. One curious illustration of this may be given from the Assembly records. In the earlier minutes the word "Sunday" or "Lord's day" is invariably used, and the use of the word Sabbath in the later minutes is contemporary with the increasing Puritan influence, and represents the regular Puritan usage.

One remarkable, and sometimes forgotten feature of the period is that there was no separation into separate bodies. Presbyterian and Episcopalian managed to worship together in spite of the difference of creed, and in the many ups and downs no one made a schism. The setting up of distinct bodies did not come for nearly a hundred years after this date.

The period is marked by three main lines of action. From 1560 to 1576 the chief influence came from England, and the organization of the Church gradually approximated to the English model. From 1576 to 1596 the great influence came from abroad, and produced a Presbyterian Church modelled upon the Church of Geneva. The remaining influence came from the King, and was the result of his belief in the Divine powers over all estates of men that had been committed to him. This influence proved in the end the ruin of the Church, because it left out of account all idea of the Church as a Divine society, and treated it merely as a department of the State, with the bishops as executive officers, and the King as its head. The consecrations of 1610 mark the first triumph of this new influence.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST REFORMED EPISCOPATE. 1610—1638

The Church had now, for the first time since 1560, a valid episcopate, and though there had been considerable feeling as to the manner in which the change had been brought about, the majority were quite prepared to make the best of the situation, and work loyally under the new system. The change was more apparent than real, at least in its practical results. The ministers continued to occupy their churches as before, and no question was raised about re-ordination, although probably the vast majority had been ordained in the Presbyterian fashion. The ordinary services went on just as formerly, and nobody visiting a parish church after an interval of years from before 1610 could have told that an ecclesiastical revolution had taken place. There was no attempt made to introduce the keeping of the Christian year, or to revive the rite of confirmation. But for the fact that bishops now ruled, and that all fresh admissions to the ministry were by episcopal ordination, there was absolutely no

difference. The bishops judged it wisest to let things settle.

In this line of policy they were opposed by the King. He now occupied quite a different position from what he had done in Scotland. Surrounded as he was by all the pomp and ceremony of the English Court and the English Church, the dejected condition of the Scottish Church was very apparent to him. His aim had been to bring it into exact line with the Church of England, and that aim had been only partially realized by the appointment of bishops. The Scottish Church had no proper confession (unless the old Knoxian confession), and its services differed altogether from the stately and dignified ceremonial of the English; while the rules under which it should act were hidden away in long forgotten Acts of Assemblies. James was determined that something should be done to put matters on a better basis, and for that purpose caused an Assembly to be held at Aberdeen in 1616.

That Assembly proved in many ways to be a very famous one, and, if we could only be sure of its absolute freedom, a very valuable one as showing the trend of opinion in Scotland. Unfortunately, however, there is here, as in most of the legislation proposed by the King, too much reason to believe that the resolutions come to represent the opinions of the King and his party rather than the free voice of the Church. Be that as it may, the proposals which the Assembly made and

adopted were very far reaching. A confession of faith, described by Dr. Cook, a Presbyterian historian, as "displaying the utmost moderation" was prepared and ratified and ordered to be received. The proposal to draw up a form of prayer was committed to a small number of members, but does not seem to have been carried out. The proposal excited a good deal of feeling, because, although the Church was supposed to have a liturgy, the practice of extempore prayer had become extremely common, and it was thought that this liturgy would take away that privilege. It was also agreed that a book of canons for the Church should be prepared out of the acts of bypast Assemblies. Various rules about catechizing and confirming children were laid down, and the first steps towards a national system of education taken, by ordering grammar schools to be set up in every parish.

For a Church that had had the experiences of Scotland this was going rather fast in one direction, and the bishops, who knew better than the King the state of public opinion, advised more cautious procedure. The King was not convinced by their opinions, but, under the circumstances, did not press his own, and not much was done.

The King's first visit to Scotland since the Union took place in 1617, and but for his own shrewd sense might have had the effect of wrecking all his Church legislation. His fourteen

years' residence in England had completely removed every trace of Presbyterianism, and he was anxious to give the Scots ministers a lesson as to how things ought to be done. Holyrood chapel was specially prepared for his visit, and some English craftsmen were sent down to put up the necessary decorations. They brought with them some miniature statues of Biblical personages, which were to be put up in various parts of the chapel. When the Scottish onlookers saw what was going forward, at once there was great excitement. People thought this was merely the preliminary to the Mass, and the bringing back of Popery, and the bishops were so disturbed about it that they felt compelled to write to the King, and to ask him, under the circumstances, to dispense with these "aids to worship." The King affected to be amused and tried to be witty over the matter, but had sufficient wisdom to see the necessity of giving way.

In the same year another indication of the obsequiousness of Parliament was given in an act which practically handed over the whole government of the Church to the King's absolute power. It was resolved that "whatever his majesty should determine in the external government of the Church, with the advice of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of clergy, should have the force of law." The King was wise enough to leave the matter as it was before, but the resolution shows that the Stuart kings were

not solely to blame for the terrible trouble that ensued, mainly as the result of resolutions such as this.

Still persisting in his attempts to improve the Church, the King had an Assembly at St. Andrews in 1617, where the first draft of a proposed set of new regulations was discussed. The majority of members did not much care for the proposals, thinking them untimeous, but the King attempted to give them the force of law by royal proclamation. Feeling against the new proposals was rising rapidly, and ministers who disliked them knew well how to fan that feeling. At Perth the next year the whole question came up for discussion by the Assembly. The Assembly was like to be a notable one, and was very largely attended. It was held in St. John's Church, and was opened by a sermon from the Archbishop of St. Andrews (Spottiswood). The sermon was a striking one, and could not fail to make a deep impression. He declared publicly that it was against his will, and without his knowledge that the articles had been prepared for insertion among the canons. He utterly denied that they were the work of either the English or Scottish bishops, and said he had protested before against them, and that if he had had the power he would have refused to receive them then. "Therefore," he said, "let no man deceive himself. These things proceed from his Majesty, and are his motions and no other's." For a synod convened for a particular purpose it

was a humiliating confession to make, but it reveals what was the weak point of all Scottish Reformed bishops down to the Revolution—subservience to the King. They knew that the enforcement of the articles would probably rend the Church in pieces, but their particular theory of the King's position prevented their resisting his will.

Discussion of the articles, in the modern sense, there was none, nor could there be. The articles were there to be accepted, and the archbishop hinted, and not vaguely, at certain results which would follow if they were rejected. The vote was taken, and resulted in a large majority for the articles—eighty-six voted for their adoption, forty-nine against, and three refused to vote.

The articles themselves, which were five in number, do not strike us to-day as particularly dangerous. They appointed—

1. Kneeling for reception of Holy Communion.
2. Private Communion in time of sickness.
3. Confirmation.
4. Private Baptism, where necessary.
5. The observance of certain days—Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday.

The article about which most feeling was excited was that which enjoined kneeling as the proper attitude in Holy Communion. At least a generation of Scots people had grown up in the custom

of sitting at the reception of the Sacrament, and kneeling at once suggested the Mass, and roused all the old prejudices. Practically, in the end, ministers were allowed to accommodate themselves to existing conditions, and men knelt or sat, according to their prejudices or theological beliefs. The other articles have all long since passed out of the region of controversy, and been adopted by Established and non-Established Presbyterians alike. Private Baptism has become the rule rather than the exception. Private Communion is, strictly speaking, impossible and unnecessary in Established Church practice. The minister holds what is technically a public service for the sick person. In reality much the same observance is carried out as in the Anglican Communion. Confirmation is impossible where there are no bishops, but almost all Presbyterians have a service of admission as communicants, which corresponds to at least part of the Confirmation Service. The regular observance of the whole Christian year by Presbyterians, though entirely unsanctioned, is too common to be matter of public notice. The real fact is that there was little objection to the articles in themselves in 1618, but a great deal of objection to the manner of their introduction, coupled with an absurd jealousy of England. The Scots had not yet got rid of the idea that Scotland was to become a mere province of England.

The Assembly of 1618 was the last action of

James's of any interest to the Church. After such a meeting he wisely left things alone, and in the seven years that followed before his death in 1625, the Scottish Church was settling down more quietly than it had done for a long time.

Charles I., who succeeded James, was a man of quite a different stamp from his father. He had been brought up to believe in the Divine prerogative of kings, and in attempting to put it into practice in regard to the Church he was acting merely according to the best teaching he had received. He was a sincere Churchman from conviction, and had a conscientious desire to make the Church of Scotland all he believed it should be. His belief, and the growing feeling in favour of a different view of kingship came into collision, with the result that he, with the best possible intentions, only succeeded in undoing all that his father had done.

The question of the ministers' stipends was still as far from settlement as ever. Much of the land which had formerly belonged to the Church had passed into the hands of the nobility, and had been erected with temporal lordships. These new owners of the lands levied from the farmers and cultivators the teinds for the Church's support, and as these were paid in kind there was frequently much hardship, and much exasperation against the Church. Charles now proposed that Church lands which had been appropriated or wrongfully gifted away should be restored to the

Church. The idea was an excellent one, but it was seventy years too late. The chief result of it was that the nobility made a "band" to stand against the King, and that the bishops came in for an increased share of hatred.

Some little good, however, came of the proposal. It brought about a rearrangement of the whole teind question, and provided an arrangement which continues in our day. All the teinds of the country were valued, and every teind payer was allowed to commute his payment in kind by a money payment to the titular, who became responsible to pay to the parish minister a certain sum yearly out of the teinds. Not all the teinds were used for this purpose, and out of the teinds left untouched—the unexhausted teinds as they were termed—it was to be permissible to increase the sum paid to the minister, at certain intervals. The arrangement was of the greatest value to the ministers, and to the tillers of the ground. It gave the ministers a certain fixed sum which they could depend on, and it relieved the small payers from vexatious and harassing demands. The nobility, however, were very sore, and this arrangement of 1633 counted for a great deal with them when trouble arose a few years later. From this date they began to play an underhand game, cultivating the discontented among the ministers, and contriving to get the blame of all the troubles laid on the bishops.

About the same time the King still further exas-

perated the nobility by his appointing Archbishop Spottiswood Chancellor of the Kingdom. The day for clerical statesmen had gone by, and while it gave the nobles cause of offence, it also needlessly irritated many of the clergy. The nobles thought their special prerogative had been invaded, while the clergy had conscientious objections to a clergyman occupying a legal position. The incident passed, but it was one of many "pin-pricks" that were treasured up against a day of settlement.

One very useful piece of legislation is due to Archbishop Spottiswood. In 1616 something had been done towards establishing schools in every parish, but the compulsory power was a-wanting, and little result had followed. Now, however, the bishop was given power, with the heritors or a majority of the inhabitants to assess every farm in the parish with a certain sum for the endowment of a school. No statute has been of greater value to Scotland than this. It secured a fairly decent maintenance for a schoolmaster in every parish, and it put the schoolmaster on quite as independent a footing as the parish minister. The number of Scottish youths who have passed from these parish schools to eminent positions in Church and State, is ample evidence of the use that has been made of it. Knox's "devout imagination" was coming to pass, and though it was left to Presbyterians to complete the edifice in 1696, it was Episcopalians who really gave it its first start.

The same year that witnessed Charles's efforts to have the financial affairs of the Church put on a proper footing witnessed also an attempt to have its external arrangements made as perfect as possible. In his father's reign an act had been passed defining the prerogative of the King with respect to the Church. The act had never been fully accepted by the King, and now a new act was brought in giving further powers. The voting was very close, and the King was almost openly charged with falsifying the numbers. It was a small incident, but it showed the tension of feeling, and it might have made a less determined man pause. Charles went straight ahead, issuing orders under the Act that the bishops were to wear their robes in Parliament, while the clergy were directed to preach in gowns, and were to wear a surplice for the rest of the service.

Altogether the King's visit to the north can hardly be called a success. The chief results of it were the alienation of the nobility and the irritation of the people. In England things were beginning to go from bad to worse, and there was much intercourse between Scotland and England and much stirring up of the smouldering indignation. A wise observer would have seen that a crisis was rapidly approaching, and that it needed only a touch to precipitate it. Charles himself, by his unwise action over the canons and the liturgy, supplied just what was wanted.

The Church was badly in need of some system

of rules, and as far back as 1616 it had been determined to supply those by extracts from acts of Assemblies. Had this been done matters might have gone differently, but such a course of procedure would not have helped forward the aim the King had in view. The Scottish Church must be ranged up alongside of the English, and for that purpose its canons must run on the same lines. Charles, therefore, paid no heed to the resolution of 1616, but issued a book of canons, "by his prerogative royal and supreme authority in causes ecclesiastical." The clergy were required to promise obedience to the canons, and in them to a liturgy which no one had yet seen. The result was easy to imagine. Naturally men felt that faith had not been kept with them, and they declined to give a promise binding them to they knew not what.

In themselves, the canons contained much that was excellent. They laid down regulations which no Church could well exist without, but they were disfigured by the open Erastianism that ran through them all. Everything was made to issue from the King—synods, changes of rubrics or articles, the ordering of fast-days—and nothing was to have the force of law which had not first received the royal sanction. From his point of view it was all perfectly defensible. Parliament had conferred on him the power he was exercising. The chief provisions were as follows:—All the services were to be according to the Prayer

Book (which no one had yet seen), and no extempore prayer was to be permitted. Holy Communion was to be administered at least four times in the year, of which Easter was to be one. Proper church furniture, fonts and altars, were to be provided. Minute rules about ordination and about the lives of ministers were laid down, but there was nothing to take exception to. The real trouble about the canons lay in the breach of faith about their origin, and in the method of their publication. The Church was completely under the heel of the King, and the best men felt that it was a degradation so to be.

The rapidly rising tide of discontent was brought to a head next year (1637) by the publication of the Scottish Prayer Book. A liturgy was no new thing in Scotland, and the liturgy that was produced was, in many respects, a most excellent one. The English advisers of the King thought the better plan in the end would be to adopt the English Prayer Book *en bloc*, but the Scottish bishops were timid, and advised that a book drawn up by Scotsmen for Scotland would have a far better chance of success. Their advice was taken, and the new book was the work of two of the Scottish bishops. It was submitted to the English bishops for their criticism, and Scottish people always believed that Archbishop Laud had a good deal to do with its composition. That, we know now, is not strictly true, but there is no doubt that the book reflects the type of Church-

manship which was associated with Laud's name. It followed the English book very closely in everything but the Communion Service, and in that it went back to the model of the Communion Service of the first Prayer Book of Edward VI.

The introduction of the book was blundered from start to finish. There was no consulting of the Church; it was issued and ordered to be used, on the Royal authority alone. It was too much to expect that so vast a change could be made in men's devotional habits without the least consultation with the Church, and however much the King believed in his prerogative, ordinary men did not. Originally ordered to be used on Easter Day 1637, it was not ready by that time, and its use was postponed till July. Meanwhile all sorts of stories got abroad as to the terrible things that the book contained. Men's minds were in a highly inflamed condition, and the enemies of the Church made good use of their opportunity. The King's conduct, the supineness of the bishops, the idea that the Church was betrayed, formed splendid texts on which to harangue an excitable people. The scene that followed the introduction of the book in St. Giles's, Edinburgh, has been described by many writers with great vividness of imagination. It put an effectual stop to the service then, and it acted as a spark on tow. At once all the wrongs and fancied wrongs of past years, all grievances of nobility and people against King or Church found vent in the excitement that followed this

Prayer Book episode. The introduction of the Prayer Book was a mere occasion, not the cause, of the rising against the Government. The struggle between the new world and the old, between prerogative and democracy, had been gathering for years, and now it found an outlet on this matter.

Again the Government blundered. The bishops, in a great fright, withdrew the book till the King's pleasure was known. This only made things worse, and showed how low the leaders of the Church had sunk. The King, who had plenty of difficulties elsewhere, proved a broken reed to lean upon. He did nothing either towards withdrawing the book or compelling obedience, and the opposition gathered strength daily.

Gradually all the discontent of past years concentrated itself in connection with this, and the promoters of discontent were driven by their own success into the adoption of methods of more or less questionable legality. They divided themselves into four bodies or tables one for each of the classes—noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, burgesses—and they drew up a covenant by which they bound themselves to stand by each other. With some disingenuousness, as if it were the subject in question, they prefaced this covenant with a profession of faith which had been signed many years before, and some Articles of Parliament against Popery and in favour of the Reformed religion. With this double document in

hand they began their campaign against the King. On February 28, 1638, the signing of the Covenant began in the Grey Friars Churchyard, Edinburgh, amid scenes of the greatest excitement. Copies of the Covenant were sent all over the land, and people were called upon to sign. In most places it was received with enthusiasm, the majority of people being entirely ignorant of what was in dispute, and imagining that somehow or other Popery was being brought back and forced upon them. It was not so everywhere, however, and at St. Andrews and Aberdeen it was utterly condemned and refused, while many individuals throughout the country would have nothing to do with it. It had become practically a call to arms, and instead of suppliants, the Covenanters were now become rebels. As enthusiasm increased, and success seemed to follow all their efforts, their demands rose proportionately. The Covenant was no longer an instrument of protest against tyranny, it became a demand for a revolution. Bishops, Perth Articles, the Canons, the Prayer Book must be completely swept away. The Covenanters forced their own views upon all others, and assumed all the powers of the Government. Their commands were obeyed, while the King's commands were scorned.

The Government played a very ineffective part, and their want of energy was merely an encouragement to the leaders of the opposition. At last it was agreed that a General Assembly should be

summoned to discuss the whole question. The Covenanting leaders at once adopted tactics which, whatever might be thought of them morally, were very effective for their purpose. Secret instructions were sent to the presbyteries to take care that only those who had signed the Covenant should be chosen as members of the coming Assembly. If any others should happen to be chosen, they were to be protested against. Then they proceeded to get rid of the bishops. They were quite determined that these should not appear in the Assembly unless as criminals at its bar, and they drew up a libel charging the bishops with all sorts of crimes—"excessive drinking, whoring, playing at cards, profaning the Sabbath." There was some difficulty at first on the legal question of jurisdiction, but the Presbytery of Edinburgh "took up the libel, sustained it and ordered it to be read from all pulpits on the following Sunday." A more wicked conspiracy of slander, as a means of gaining their ends, has never been conceived in the interests of any body of men. It was now seen that it was war to the knife between the two parties.

The excellent organization of the Covenanters produced its fruit when the Assembly met at Glasgow. Naturally, the bishops declined to be present, and after some fruitless attempts on the part of the High Commissioner to preserve the forms of law, he dissolved the meeting and left it. Once he had gone, all law and order were set at defi-

ance. In quick succession the legislation of past years was rescinded, the bishops deposed and excommunicated, and, as far as they could do it, a new Presbyterian Establishment set up. The work of thirty years was undone in a day, and Scottish religious affairs were now, for the fifth time in seventy years, completely thrown into confusion.

The work of the Glasgow Assembly of 1638 has had much extravagant language showered upon it. It has been described as a second Reformation, far more glorious than the first, which delivered the nation from Popery. It was no Reformation, if language has any meaning at all. It was Revolution pure and simple. A certain section of citizens, in defiance of all law, took upon themselves the overturning of the Established Church of the land, and practically, for the time at least, assumed the position of governors, while all the time professing the utmost loyalty to the King. It was not the Church alone that they overthrew, or established. They overthrew the doctrine that people are bound to obey the law, while it is the law, and they established the doctrine that any body of citizens that can, will be quite justified in overturning the Government if it makes laws they don't like. The Divine right of kings to govern as they like was dismissed, and the fact that the people themselves are the source of all power was established.

The fate of the Church, as an Establishment,

was not all a misfortune. It had not been specially strong, and it had no clear idea as to what being the Body of Christ really meant. The Covenanters, it must be confessed, had a far higher idea of the Church than the bishops had. They were now to have, in their turn, an opportunity of working out that idea in concrete fact, but a packed Assembly, and trumped-up charges of a scandalous nature against the bishops did not promise a very hopeful beginning.

CHAPTER IX

SCOTLAND UNDER THE COVENANTS

The successful Covenanters at the Glasgow Assembly had had things pretty much their own way. The Government was slow to act, but at last an army, headed by the King himself, moved towards Edinburgh. The opposing faction was quite ready to meet force with force, and a large army, full of enthusiasm, and with many ministers in its train, was despatched under General Leslie. The King's army was badly disciplined, and wanted that zeal with which the Covenanting ministers daily inspired their followers by their harangues. Leslie was a clever soldier, who had thoroughly learned his business, and the King's troops were in no mood to engage such a one. A treaty was therefore arranged, by which the matters in dispute were to be settled in a meeting of the Assembly and of Parliament. At that meeting, in 1639, the proceedings at Glasgow were legalized, and the new Establishment confirmed in its position.

Now began a course of tyranny such as the

King in his wildest dreams had not attempted. The Covenant was enforced upon everybody, and where it was refused no terms were admitted. The "Aberdeen Doctors" became famous in history by their steady refusal to take the Covenant, but with their new powers the Covenanters made short work of them. Though all of them were men of exemplary life, and great intellectual attainments, they were turned out of their places with very little consideration.

While the leaders were engaged in clearing out refractory ministers, the spoliation of Church property went on apace. Bishopric revenues were gifted away, some to the universities, some to the corporations, one—Argyle and the Isles to the Marquis of Argyle. As it was in 1560, so it was now. Men became Covenanters for the sake of Church property, and remained Covenanters to keep it.

While things were in this state of confusion in Scotland, the King's troubles were daily increasing in England. In 1641 he paid a visit to Scotland, only to find that no amount of conciliation or giving way had the least effect on his Scottish subjects. The Covenanters had got all they wanted; they were legally established as the Church of the land, they had received honours and rewards, and yet they were not satisfied. They showed their gratitude now by making an alliance with the King's bitterest enemies. James and Charles had both conceived the idea of one

Church for the kingdom, and had attempted, using the means which the law had given them, to carry out this idea. The Covenanters had cried out against their plan as tyranny, and had overthrown it by a revolution; but now they entered into an alliance with the English sectaries, by which they pledged themselves to establish uniformity of religion in England and Scotland, by the simple expedient of extirpating all Popery, prelacy, and profaneness, and on the space thus cleared erecting a new Church "according to the example of the best Reformed Churches." The document in which this agreement was expressed is known as the Solemn League and Covenant, and is quite a different document from the National Covenant signed in 1637. It was drawn up under quite different circumstances, for a totally different purpose, and is much more objectionable altogether. Everybody, without exception, was to be compelled to sign the new Covenant, under very severe penalties, and it became an active instrument of persecution.

The English alliance produced another result of which we have not yet seen or heard the end in Scotland. In 1643 the famous Westminster Assembly of Divines was constituted by an Act of the English Parliament, and though loudly protesting against any such interference at home, the Covenanters swallowed their scruples, when a certain number of commissioners from Scotland, ministers and laymen, were appointed. These

Scottish delegates exercised an influence out of all proportion to their numbers, probably, as one delegate confesses, because there was a Scottish army in the field, and because, at the time, they were necessary to their English allies. By and by, when they were less needed, they received scantier courtesy.

No other religious Assembly has had more influence on Scotland. From it came the confession, the catechism, the directory for public worship, the translation of the metrical psalms used in Scotland—practically all that distinguishes Scottish Presbyterianism, except its ministry. From it, too, and its teaching came much of the "dourness" that has marked Scottish character. When Presbyterians in 1693 accepted it "as the confession of their own faith," they completely changed the character of Scottish Presbyterianism, and riveted bonds on themselves that have led to much searching of heart, and much subtlety of accommodation. Its doctrines are openly flouted by Presbyterian ministers, and in 1905 an Act was got through Parliament in a rather underhand kind of way to enable the Establishment to get some relief from it.

The Covenanters were beginning to suffer from too great success. Their English allies proved rather troublesome. They were not all Presbyterian, and they did not take kindly to the autocratic ways of Scottish ministers, and had no idea of submitting themselves to them. Conventicles

began to be formed, especially in the west, where extreme Covenanters abounded. The majority in the Church did not want conventicles, and used every means to put them down. If meetings apart from the parish church had been legalized, there were many Episcopalians all over the country who might have proved troublesome. The little rift was the first sign of cleavage the successful party had shown, but the movement sowed seeds of which the full harvest is being bitterly reaped to-day in Scotland.

The extreme Covenanters were rapidly gaining the upper hand. After a series of brilliant victories the fortune of war had gone against the King's forces in Scotland, and some of the bravest blood in Scotland was basely shed for no other reason than loyalty to the King, and cold-blooded massacres of prisoners happened more than once. Loyalists and Episcopalians were the chief sufferers, and if they took bitter vengeance in the retaliation after 1660, it was only after terrible provocation. Both sides, when they had the chance, inflicted cruel punishments, but while the sufferers on one side have been made almost into martyrs, the sufferers on the other have been quietly passed over.

The surrender of the King by the Scots to the English at Newcastle has never been satisfactorily cleared up, and from that date matters took a downward course. In 1648 he escaped from his enemies, and rather complicated matters, and in-

creased the split between the two parties in Scotland. The Scottish Estates were loyal on the whole, and entered into an "Engagement" with the King as to the matters in dispute. The terms of this engagement were, on the whole, fairly liberal for a defeated cause. The King agreed to the Solemn League and Covenant being sanctioned by Parliament, provided no one was compelled to take it; Presbyterianism was to be set up in England for three years' trial—the King and Queen being allowed their own form and afterwards a new polity, devised by Westminster divines, along with twenty commissioners named by the King, was to come into operation. The extreme men in Scotland protested against this engagement, and allied themselves to Cromwell and the English. Engagers and Protesters, as they came to be called, soon came to close grips. At Preston, Cromwell inflicted defeat on the Engagers, and power passed into the hands of their opponents, the representatives of the extreme republican party. An Act was passed excluding from all public office those who had taken the Engagement. After that the end came quickly. The English Puritans, after the murder of the King in 1649, became in fact what they had long been in theory, republican, and the Scottish Protesters had to follow them.

Scotland as a whole was not disloyal, and the news of the King's murder made many pause. His son was at once proclaimed King, and prepar-

ations made to help him. One thing was indispensable. He must take the Covenants, and an embassy of the more moderate men was sent to Holland to interview him on the matter. After some persuasion he signed the Covenant, and was crowned at Scone. Years after, one of the embassy left on record his convictions of the sin that had been committed in practically forcing the King's conscience by overpersuading him to sign a document he had no intention of abiding by. Cromwell, now established as Protector, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Scots at Dunbar, and practically became master of the country. For the first time the nation felt what it meant to be a subject race. Cromwell's methods in dealing with Scotland were not pleasant, but they were effectual, and the land enjoyed such peace as it had not had for a hundred years. During all the period of Cromwell's rule no meeting of Parliament was held, and only one meeting of Assembly. In 1653 the Assembly met in Edinburgh, and began in its usual fashion to protest against certain matters, but the time for that had gone by. Lieut.-Colonel Cotterel, with a body of men, entered the meeting, turned out the members, and marched them all out of town between two files of soldiers. There was no other meeting for nearly forty years.

The Church was managed in the same strenuous way as the nation. A committee appointed ministers to vacant parishes, and settled matters as

they chose. Scotland had come to this after nearly a hundred years' struggle. There was, however, a lower depth of degradation to be touched before matters could be righted. The old division into Protesters and Engagers still held in the main, but about this period new names emerged. The Resolutioners of the next period corresponded generally to the Engagers, while the Remonstrants represented the Protesters. Those latter now joined hands with the English conquerors, and by this means obtained great power. Now the Resolutioners felt the sting of persecution, and had to sit still and see their whole conception of the Church and its worship practically transformed. English Puritan ideas and practices were welcomed as being nearer the "pure Gospel" than anything in Scotland, and it is to this period of its greatest degradation that many customs, supposed to be peculiarly Scottish, are to be traced.

The death of Cromwell in 1658 made a great change. The Remonstrants, deprived of their great head, lost power daily, while the Resolutioners gained it. The country was weary of the "rule of the saints," and was eagerly looking forward to a change. There was little thought of continuing the Republic. The great aim was to get the King home. While things were in the transition stage every party was busy. Agents from Scotland were sent to London, and to the Continent to watch affairs and make the best

bargain possible. It was very soon apparent that Presbyterianism was doomed, and that the Covenants would have to go. The leaders in Scotland were well assured of this in more than one letter. Not even for Scotland could Presbyterianism probably be procured, and men began to face the prospect of what they called a "Moderate Episcopacy," as likely to be the only solution of the matter. The King himself was ambiguous and vague. He promised to protect the Church established by law, and with that the Resolutioners had to be content. Many of them had a fair idea of what that meant.

The Revolution of 1638, which placed Scottish religion in the hands of the Covenanters, had not been much of a permanent success. Beginning as a movement against tyranny, it had in its own turn become tyrannous, and worked its own ruin. It had destroyed the organization built up with such care between 1610 and 1638, and which was gradually winning its way, and had handed over the Church to extreme fanatics. The net result of their government was the conquest of Scotland by the English for the first time in all its long history, and the splitting of the Church into two. The whole period is one of the saddest in our annals, and one of which Scotsmen are least proud.

CHAPTER X

THE SECOND REFORMED EPISCOPATE. 1662—1690

The period between the death of Cromwell and the actual coming back of the King was one of great anxiety in Scotland, and one of much intriguing. Negotiations with the King did not produce any satisfactory result, and even after his return in 1660 things were still extremely vague. The King's letter of August 1660, in which he said "We do also resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church, as it is settled by law, without violation," did not advance matters much, although on the face of it, it seemed to promise security to the Established Church. All parties were in a glow of expectation. The Covenanters remembered that Charles was a "Covenanted" King, and fixed their hopes accordingly. The Resolutioners were in the most doleful condition, as it gradually became apparent from the trend of things in England that the bishops were almost certain to be reinstated. Episcopalians could not help hoping that they would profit from the tremendous reaction that was taking place all over the kingdom.

Things were advanced a little by a Parliament which met in Edinburgh in 1661. One of its first acts was to confirm the King in his position as supreme Governor in all causes and over all persons. No Act had given rise to more trouble in Scotland in past days than this, but such was the exuberant joy at the Restoration that it passed quite easily. A Rescissory Act which followed cut off all legislation since the year 1640, and indirectly took away the ground of the Establishment, which had been completely legalized in 1641. Another Act followed, declaring the King's resolution, "To maintain the true Protestant religion . . . as it was established in this kingdom during the reigns of his Royal father and grandfather of blessed memory." Even yet there was room for doubt, and it could be plainly alleged that all that had been done was to blot out as far as possible the record of the years of rebellion.

Later in the year a Council was held in London to discuss the whole question of the ecclesiastical settlement of Scotland. Deputies from Scotland were present, and the whole situation was discussed openly and frankly. Some of the members spoke very strongly in favour of Episcopacy, the Lord Chancellor declaring that "Six to one in Scotland longed for Episcopacy, by which no rebellion was ever hatched." Others advised that an Assembly should be called, while others wished the Synods to be consulted. The Earl of Crawford made a strong speech in favour of Presbytery,

alleging that the Chancellor's figures should be the other way about. The fact that so able men could differ so entirely on the matter, shows the difficulty that the Government was in. Something had to be done, and without delay. The King, acting under the powers given him by Parliament, issued a Proclamation in September 1661. "We . . . have, after mature deliberation, declared to those of our Council here, our firm resolution, to interpose our Royal authority, for the restoring of that Church (Scottish) to its right government by bishops as it was before the late troubles, etc."

Such was the start which the Church made after all its trials and sufferings. It was, to say the least of it, not based upon very deep principle, and men could not help feeling that, however well it might be explained away, there had been a distinct breach of faith on the King's part. His settling the matter as he did was quite within his prerogative as settled by law, but the not taking the Church into his confidence by calling an Assembly was fatal. The Church was like to get back to its rightful place, but in such a manner as rendered it highly possible that trouble might ensue. History and experience seem to have been lost on the King and on the Church leaders.

In May 1662, Parliament confirmed the King's proclamation, and the new Establishment at once set to work. Of the old race of bishops only one was left, and fresh consecrations were necessary. The future bishops were of course chosen from the

Resolutioner or Moderate party, who had supported things as far as they had gone, and the first batch of prelates was a notable one. Sharp, Fairfowl, Hamilton, and Leighton, leaders among the Resolutioners, proceeded to London, where they were consecrated, and on their return home others for the rest of the sees were consecrated in Edinburgh.

The choice of Sharp, and his appointment to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, was the one blunder, and yet it is extremely hard to know how else the authorities could have acted. Sharp was perhaps the ablest man of his party, and he had taken a leading part in all the negotiations preliminary to the King's return. Popular Covenanting opinion credited him with all sorts of evil doings, but in particular he was commonly charged with having betrayed the cause he represented. A perusal of the letters he wrote while he was delegate, and the fact that he was thanked for his services by those who employed him, disposes of the charge of treachery. He was not a lovable man, or the kind of man who should have been made bishop, but it is not proved that he was all, or anything like all, that his enemies charged him with being. His position, however, did a great deal to ruin the Church from the start.

At first the Church proceeded with extreme caution. Hardly any changes were made in the actual working of the Church, certainly none such as affected the ordinary life of the people. The

old machinery of kirk sessions, presbyteries, and synods went on as before. There was no attempt made to impose a liturgy, and there was no ritual, not even a surplice to vex the most Puritanical, and the obnoxious Articles of Perth were quietly dropped. Except that there were now bishops at the head of affairs, and that ministers were now episcopally ordained, the Church remained after 1662 almost exactly what it had been since 1638.

As in 1610, the terms on which ministers were allowed to hold their benefices were made as easy as possible, and the question of re-ordination does not seem to have been seriously raised. The difficulties that followed were more difficulties connected with Patronage than with any theory of Orders. Those who had been settled before 1649, though doubtless many of them were only in Presbyterian Orders, were left undisturbed. Since 1649 the law as to Patronage had been in abeyance, and now that patrons had their old rights restored, it was thought wise to ask that all who had been beneficed since 1649 should seek a new presentation from the patron and collation from the bishop. That this was a mere matter of form is evidenced by the fact that all patrons were compelled to present those who applied before the 20th of September. The vast majority at once complied with the law, but in the south-west of Scotland a considerable number –how many is not exactly known—refused the terms of the

Government, and either resigned their livings or attempted to hold them in defiance of the law. The time was extended, in the hope that even at the last hour the position might be re-considered, but the Government's clemency only added fuel to the fire of opposition. To fill the parishes thus rendered vacant numbers of young men were brought from the north, where Episcopacy was strong. This was at once the signal for all kinds of disorder. The people, who did not enter minutely into the rights and wrongs of the matter, saw an old minister dispossessed by an inexperienced "curate," and naturally they sided with the one they knew. The real fact was that the peace of the Church was sacrificed to the pride of a few patrons, and seed sown which produced a bitter crop before many years were over.

Freedom of action on the part of the Church would probably have saved it from much of the trouble that followed, but of that it had none. It was completely hampered by its subjection to the King's will. The Act passed at the beginning of the reign was bad enough, but it was completely eclipsed by the famous Assertory Act of 1669. "The ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the Church doth properly belong to his Majesty and his successors as an inherent right of the Crown, and his Majesty and his successors may settle, enact, and emit such constitutions, acts and orders concerning the external government of the Church and the persons

employed in the same, and concerning all ecclesiastical meetings and matters to be proponed and determined therein, as they in their Royal wisdom shall think fit." The Act has been described as having been passed in a drunken bout, and certainly no more humiliating Act was ever accepted by any branch of the Catholic Church. It was Popery in a new form, and of a worse kind than the old Popery. The Pope was at least a bishop, but here the sole right of governing the spiritual society was handed over to a layman. That the bishops should have accepted such an Act for the Church was one of the worst signs of the times. The Presbyterians, with all their faults, had at least upheld the idea of a Divine Society independent of all Governments, and it was little wonder that men felt that here was a great fall from the ideal they had become familiar with.

The King and his advisers blundered in another direction. One of the great sources of discontent in 1637 had been the High Commission Court, which was an English importation of the most offensive type. The Commission consisted of a large body of bishops and laity appointed to try cases connected with ecclesiastical affairs, and was vested with large powers of punishment. This was now revived, and only added to the already growing bitterness and discontent. Five members, one of whom had to be a bishop, were a quorum, and it might hold its sittings anywhere.

The position of the bishops and the advisers of

the King was a most difficult one. Nothing that had been done hitherto had lessened the opposition of the extreme Covenanters of the south and west to the Church, but had rather increased it. The story of the persecutions of the Covenanters in Scotland has often been told, and has lost nothing in the telling. Generations of Scotsmen have been brought up to believe that all the Covenanters were saints, and that Episcopalians were a kind of inhuman monsters, revelling in the blood of their opponents. The results of a saner criticism of historical records show us that praise and blame must be adjudged somewhat differently if we are to be perfectly just. That there was much cruelty of a revolting kind is no doubt perfectly true, and no one to-day thinks of defending it in itself, but there is a good deal to be said on the side of the persecutor as well as on the side of the persecuted. The share of the Church in the matter is not perfectly clear, but if it were as great as its opponents allege, there would still be something to be said. No party in Scotland at the time had our ideas of toleration, and no party ever found out the virtue of toleration till itself was being persecuted. The Covenanters had been just as ready to persecute, and did it just as cruelly, when they themselves had the power, a few years before. Toleration, in the eyes of most men on both sides, was sinful, and it was a religious duty to force men into the Church whether they would or no. We have learned to think differ-

ently, but it is hardly fair to blame our forefathers, Presbyterian or Episcopalian, because they had not our knowledge. From another point of view much, perhaps most, of the trouble was political. The people who were persecuted were the same people who had been the abettors of the English Puritans, and their Republicanism had probably as much to do with the matter as their religion. The west of Scotland was, in fact, in a state of open rebellion for several years. Questions which probably arose originally out of ecclesiastical affairs got mixed up with political questions, and the Government in its own defence had to take measures to repress the rising. No Government could have tolerated the kind of action that was far too common in the west, and while, from our standpoint, we may regret the cruelties that took place, it is difficult to imagine what course the Government could have taken, short of yielding to all their demands.

The method of partial toleration was tried, but it was far from successful. Those who were most concerned, and who held most firmly to the idea of the Church as a Divine society, refused to have anything to do with toleration in any form. Nevertheless, an attempt was made in 1669, by the issuing of what was called an Indulgence. Peaceable expelled ministers were to be allowed to be settled in vacant parishes without any submission to diocesan authority. If they accepted collation from the bishop they got the whole

income. If they refused this, they were allowed to retain the manse and glebe and a small part of the stipend. Notwithstanding that the terms were so liberal, the plan was not successful. Only some forty ministers took advantage of it, and were promptly dubbed "King's Curates" in contradistinction to the others, who were called Bishops' Curates. The Covenanters did not want to be tolerated, but to be supreme.

Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, and afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, made his name famous to all time by the gentleness of his life, and his persistent efforts to bring in the "outed" ministers. In Dunblane there had been little trouble, only one minister refusing to come in. Matters were very different in Glasgow, for that diocese was the very centre of all the trouble. To make an end of the schism became the great object of Leighton's life, and for that purpose he went through the diocese, holding meetings and trying to persuade men to "sweet reasonableness." In two conferences at Edinburgh and Paisley he minimized the differences between Episcopalian and Presbyterian, almost to the giving up of Episcopacy altogether. All was in vain. The ministers were afraid, not so much of Leighton's Episcopacy as of the King's, and persisted in their position. Solemnly ascribing to them the blame of perpetuating the schism, Leighton gave up his active work on that matter, and wished to retire altogether from the scene. He carried out

this purpose a little later, and retired to spend the evening of his days far from such troubled matters in the little village of Horsted Keyne.

The Government made another attempt at conciliation in 1672. In that year ministers who were still "out" were offered, on very easy conditions, benefices in certain parts of the country, with a proportion of the stipend. About eighty of them accepted, but the extreme men still held out.

Again in 1679 a third Indulgence was issued. Ministers were to be allowed to preach and administer the Sacraments in private houses, but all field preaching was forbidden. Several took advantage of this, but it only made the rest more obstinate than before. The attempts to gain over the Covenanters by toleration failed almost as completely as the attempts by persecution. Every concession was hailed as a sign of weakness, and made the occasion of further demands, and of a fresh outburst of fanaticism. So the Government "muddled along," now persecuting, now petting by turns, and really achieving nothing except increasing the hatred of some of the bishops. The cruel murder of Archbishop Sharp in 1679, and the evident approval with which it was received, were ominous signs.

Even the Church itself was getting restless under the strain. When the Archbishop of Glasgow had ventured to remonstrate on the cruelty of the Government, he was promptly removed

under the Assertory Act of 1669. The clergy began to make demands for a General Synod or Assembly, but were refused. It is difficult to know which to pity most, the persecuted Covenanters, boldly enduring for the sake of a principle, or the persecuted Churchmen driven by Royal commands which they were powerless to resist. A crisis was almost reached in 1681 when a new Act was passed, imposing a test upon all who held or should hold any public office. These had to swear that they accepted the Confession of 1567, that they renounced all Covenants, and that they believed it was unlawful to enter into leagues or endeavour any alteration in Church or State. It seemed as if the Government were determined to do its utmost to create confusion in Scotland, for many of the clergy refused to take this test and resigned their benefices.

In spite of the blunders that were made, and the unblushing Erastianism of the Crown, the Church was gradually getting hold of the country. In 1685, when Charles II. died, its prospects were not discouraging. One who was at that time a minister in Glasgow tells us that it was both peaceful and prosperous. The vast majority of people were perfectly satisfied. Presbyterians were divided into two parties the Indulged and the Cameronians. The Indulged, though they did not think the position perfect, were yet content to work under it, while the Cameronians were a mere fringe. The accession of James II. made

no change. The new King was an avowed Romanist, anxious mainly to procure liberty for his co-religionists. His struggles in England with the Test Act are well known to all readers of English history. In Scotland he made the same attempts, first through Parliament, and, when that failed, in virtue of his Royal prerogative. In pursuance of his great aim he issued two Indulgences. The first granted liberty of conscience to Quakers (some of whom were his personal friends), Presbyterians and Romanists, on condition that they would recognize him as their Sovereign. The second Indulgence went much further, and repealed all penal laws that had reference to religion, allowing all the King's subjects to meet in houses or chapels, but forbidding all conventicles.

This Indulgence marks a new step in the religious history of Scotland. King James was a Romanist, but there is good evidence to show that he was also one of the first to understand the meaning of toleration (*Jaffray's Diary:* Third Edition, 1856, p. 346), and his second Indulgence gave the start to the condition of things we are so painfully familiar with. A meeting of Presbyterians was held in Edinburgh, at which they agreed to accept the King's toleration, and voted him an address of a very effusive character testifying to their loyalty. In accordance with their resolution chapels for their services were built, and Scotland saw, for the first time, other buildings than the

parish churches used for religious service, and other bodies than the Established Church openly holding these services.

General condition of the Church of the period

Except for one district, the Church was practically at peace. The south-west of Scotland, the home of its first Christianity, had for many years harboured disturbing spirits. It was there that Lollardism found its strongest hold in the fourteenth and succeeding century, and it was from there that the first batch of pre-Reformation "heretics" had come. In the days of Cromwell it became the centre of movements towards Quakerism and Evangelicalism that threatened to split up the Church. It had been the chosen home of the extreme Covenanters, and most of the troubles of this period centred there.

The period was one of disputing and wrangling, and not one of deep spirituality. Many people, otherwise ignorant, were well up in all the points that divided parties at the time, but had little of the inner spirit of Christianity. Many of their opinions about civil as well as about ecclesiastical government were drawn from the Old Testament, and their Christianity had a very strong flavour of Judaism about it. Over the Church at large what would nowadays be called "low views" prevailed. The disputes about bishops were almost entirely disputes about Church government,

not about the question of Orders and its relation to the Church. Most people, except in the north, who accepted Episcopacy, accepted it as a matter of expediency, of the *bene*, perhaps, certainly not of the *esse* of the Church. Towards the end of the period the influence of the great English divines was beginning to tell, and a better feeling was growing.

Of public worship the idea was almost lost. Sunday services had become mere assemblies for preaching or lecturing, and even the reading of the Scriptures was looked upon as a mere preliminary to the real work of the day. People used to loll about the churchyard till the "preliminaries" were completed, and then go into church for the *pièce de resistance*—the sermon. In his diocese of Dunblane Leighton tried to bring about a better state of affairs, with only small success. Again and again in his charges he returns to such elementary matters as postures in prayer, the saying of the Gloria or the Creed. The services had nothing about them externally to attract. Ritual and dignity of a kind there was, doubtless, in the very absence of ritual, and in the uplifted psalm and earnest, if often ill-expressed prayer, but it was not such as to capture the ordinary worshipper. Men were treated as if religion were a matter of the intellect and soul alone, from which the body, and all that made its appeal through the body, were ruthlessly banished. The sermon had become the whole end and aim of gathering together.

The idea of a Sacramental system in the Church may have been held by an individual here and there, but he was a *rara avis*. Confirmation was almost entirely neglected. There is no reference to it in the minutes of the Synod of Dunblane, which extend over almost the whole period. Once Leighton seems working up to it, but immediately drops it. The Holy Communion had almost disappeared from many parishes. In some there was an annual celebration, in many others years elapsed between celebrations. Discipline was the one thing that flourished, and the records of the day, if they could be published (a thing impossible in many cases), are full of sexual immorality, drinking, Sabbath breaking, absence from Church.

The whole conception of the Church and of Church work was different from all that we know to-day. The manifold agencies in connection with the Church, its work as a social factor, its idea of its own mission, were all in the future. It was an age of ecclesiastics, and of ecclesiastics of no outstanding ability. If the leaven of politics could have been got rid of there is no doubt that the rising tide of Churchmanship would have made the Church once again a spiritual power in the land. That was coming, but a long process of purification awaited the Church before the beginnings of growth were possible. The first stage of that purification came through James II.

The Disestablishment of the Church

The King, whose affairs in England had gone from bad to worse, threw the whole country into confusion by his sudden flight in 1688. William of Orange, who had been closely watching how things were going, landed in England and was hailed as a deliverer by the bulk of the nation. In Scotland things were in the greatest possible confusion, and the west of Scotland was given up to mob rule. The extreme Covenanters took advantage of the situation created by the King's flight to rise against the "Curates," and much cruelty was inflicted. The bishops were in a position of considerable difficulty, and despatched two of their number to take counsel with the English bishops. By the time they reached London English affairs were practically settled, and the Revolution completed. Their interviews with the English bishops did not promise much good. Shortly before his return home Bishop Rose, of Edinburgh, had an interview with Compton, Bishop of London. He stated to Rose quite openly that the King was now much better acquainted with Scottish affairs than he had been in Holland, but that he could not cast off the Presbyterian offers of help until he saw how he could be better served. "Wherefore," added Compton, "he bids me tell you that if you will undertake to serve him to the purpose that he is served here in England, he will take you by the hand, support the Church and Order, and throw off the

Presbyterians." A plainer bid for help on plainer conditions was never made, but Rose refused to rise to it. He said he would rather sacrifice all than renounce his allegiance to James. "In that case," said Compton, "the King must be excused for standing by the Presbyterians." Still another opportunity was given the bishop. Just before starting for home he was introduced to William. "My lord, you are going to Scotland," said the King. "Yes, sir," was the reply, "if you have any commands for me." The King's reply was, "I hope you will be kind to me, and follow the example of England." The bishop, who quaintly says that he was difficulted for an answer, replied cautiously, "Sir, I will serve you as far as law, reason, or conscience shall allow me." There was nothing more to be done, but the bishop's answer practically disestablished the Church.

In March 1689, a convention of Estates met at Edinburgh to settle the affairs of the nation. At first many Royalists attended, but as they saw how things were going they soon left. On April 11 the Crown was offered to William and Mary, and the ministers were ordered to make proclamation of this in Church, and to pray for the new King and Queen, under pain of deprivation. At the same time the famous document called the "Claim of Right" was introduced and agreed to. Among other matters it made the bold statement, "Prelacy, and the superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters is, and hath been, a

great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the Reformation, they having been reformed from Popery by presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished." In July the final step was taken. Power was given to the King and Queen "to settle the government of the Church in the way most agreeable to the inclinations of the people." In the original draft there had been some reference to the "Word of God," but in its final form that was cut out and the statement left in all its nakedness. Next year the settlement was made. Parliament met in April, and began by repealing the Assertory Act of 1669. "The will of the people," and not "the prerogative of the King," was to be the decisive factor. The Presbyterian ministers, about sixty in number, who had been deprived since 1661, were restored and given full powers. The Westminster Confession was adopted, but the Covenants, which had been the source of all the trouble, were passed by. Such was the setting up of the present Established Church of Scotland. It was a political matter pure and simple, a reward for political services rendered. For many years back Presbyterians had contended for spiritual independence, and much blood had been shed in the contest. Their constant complaint against the Church had been that it was Erastian. Now, when Establishment was in view, principles went by the board, and they willingly submitted, as the

price of Establishment, to allow Parliament to model the new polity. No General Assembly, no Synod, no voice of the Church itself was allowed to be heard. "The pattern of the new Tabernacle was prescribed in Parliament House" (Dr. Cunningham, quoted Stephen ii. 415).

The bishops of the second episcopate were not distinguished either for their Churchmanship or their learning. Much has been said of their action just before the Disestablishment, and it is perfectly clear that, had they chosen to act differently, the probability is that the Established Church of Scotland would have been Episcopal to-day. Their loyalty to King James may have been a mistake, but at any rate it was honest and straightforward. In the face of all that it was to cost them, they deliberately chose disestablishment and faithfulness to their oaths, rather than their places and unfaithfulness. Had they always shown the same principle, much of Scottish history would have been different.

With the disestablishment of 1690 the acute period of the Scottish Reformation comes to an end, after about a hundred and fifty years' struggle. The story of all its changes and all its quarrels is not agreeable reading, but the length of the struggle and the manner of its ending are sufficient to refute the widely spread idea that Presbyterianism is native to Scotland, or that Episcopacy is an alien form of religion. There cannot be much "nativeness" about a form of

faith which had such a struggle for existence, and which succeeded at last only as a political reward, or much "alienness" about another, which, but for the quixotic loyalty of its bishops, might have been the faith of Scotland to-day.

CHAPTER XI

THE HUNDRED YEARS IN THE WILDERNESS

(*a*) *The weakness of the new Establishment.*

The disestablishment of the Church by form of law was one thing, but the setting up of the new Establishment in its place was quite another. The country as a whole was not anxious for a new ecclesiastical settlement, and for many years after the actual passing of the Bill, Episcopalians continued to hold to the parish churches. In some cases this may have been due to the fact that the King refused to allow any active persecution to take place, and set his face sternly against the wishes of some of the Presbyterian leaders, but in a great many cases it was due to the action of the people themselves, who absolutely refused to have their minister ejected and another put in his place. The whole of the country north of the Tay was almost unanimous in retaining its Episcopal incumbents, and it was in the south and south-west of Scotland alone that Presbyterians were of any strength. That the new Establishment was ex-

ceedingly weak for many years, and only maintained its position because it had the law behind it, is a fact which is clearly established by many independent witnesses. Numbers are proverbially fallacious, but all the evidence which has been gathered goes to show that, tried by that test, the Church had by far the majority of the people.

John Sage was at the time of the Disestablishment one of the ministers of Glasgow, and afterwards became a bishop in the Disestablished Church. He was a scholar of great repute, very learned in the Fathers, and in his writings clearly shows the rising standard of Churchmanship. In one of his pamphlets, he made (vol. i. p. 316, Sage's works) the statement, which has not been disproved, "That the nobility of the kingdom (not above a dozen excepted) had all sworn the oath commonly called the Test: that not fifty in all Scotland had, upon the Indulgence of 1687, forsaken the Church for meeting-houses: that in the towns and burghs all who were of sufficient importance to be councillors, or who were of an 'ingenious trade' had generally taken the Test: that the clergy, of whom there were above a thousand, were all for Episcopacy, except some twenty trimmers: that in all the universities there were not four masters, heads, or fellows inclined to Presbytery: that the colleges of justice and physics in Edinburgh were generally so strongly in favour of Episcopacy that they were ready to take up arms on its behalf." Much more testi-

mony of the same kind will be found in the same author's *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*, while members of the Presbyterian Church itself do not hesitate to say the same thing.

In 1692 an adjourned assembly was held at Edinburgh, at which there were hardly any representatives from north of the Tay. The weakness of the Established Church was so apparent that the wintry weather was offered as an excuse for the absence of members. "A much better reason," says Dr. Cunningham (ii. 298), "was that there were none to come."

Dr. Alexander Carlyle (Jupiter Carlyle) was parish minister of Inveresk, and his life stretches from 1722 to 1805. He was one of the leading men of the Establishment during great part of the eighteenth century, and in his youth was acquainted with many who had passed through the Disestablishment period. In his autobiography (p. 249) he writes as follows: "Till this period (1752) the clergy of Scotland from the Revolution downwards had been little thought of and seldom admitted into liberal society. . . The sudden call for young men to fill up vacancies at the Revolution obliged the Church to take their entrants from the lower ranks who had but a mean education. It must be observed too that when Presbytery was re-established in Scotland at the Revolution, after the reign of Episcopacy for twenty-nine years, more than two-thirds of the people of the country, and most part of the gentry,

were Episcopals, the restoration of Presbytery under King William being chiefly owing to the Duke of Argyle, Marchmont, Stair and other leading nobles, who had suffered under Charles and James, and who had promoted the Revolution with all their interest and power." Such testimony, from such a source, is not to be gainsaid.

A letter of General Mackay's published by Dr. Joseph Robertson in the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vii. 22, bears the same testimony. He was a strong Presbyterian, yet he writes: "I tell you, who know Scotland, and where the strength and the weakness of it doth lie; that if I were as much an enemy to that interest as I am a friend, I would, without difficulty, engage to form in Scotland a more formidable party against it, even for their Majesties' Government, than can be formed for it."

This certainly does not look as if "Prelacy hath been and is an insupportable grievance," as the Claim of Right put it.

The same thing is brought out in another way. The "insupportable grievance" was removed and a chance given to substitute something that they could bear with. The people, in whose name and for whose sake apparently the Church had been disestablished refused to accept the new arrangements. Haddington and Dunbar presbyteries contained over thirty parishes, but only could get in five Presbyterians. The famous presbytery of Auchterarder had only one, Perth, Dunkeld, and

half Auchterarder made six between them. In the city of Perth, "Mr. John Anderson, appointed by the Presbyterian judicatories to officiate, was obliged to be taken under the protection of the King's troops and was accompanied every day to and from the pulpit by a military guard." Every part of Scotland has the same tale to tell. The actions of the people showed that the claim of right was an exaggeration. It was 1694 before the Presbyterians got a footing in Aberdeen. In Moy the first Presbyterian minister was not settled till 1727. At Tannadice in Forfarshire the old incumbent held the church till 1716, when he was got out because of complicity in the '15. At Kirriemuir it was 1713 before a Presbyterian minister could be settled, and even then when he came to take possession he was met outside the town and stoned. In the north almost every induction of the new Presbyterian minister was the occasion of riot, and at Deer the inhabitants not only drove away the presbytery and their friends, but ate the induction dinner that had been prepared. At Muthill in Perthshire the first Presbyterian incumbent was inducted in the churchyard, and a riot ensued in which weapons were used. The Church register of the Episcopalians there, dating from 1697, shows where the relative strength lay; and this continued down to the '45. In 1710 there were one hundred and eleven Episcopalians still in possession of parishes north of the Tay. The country, according to the Claim

of Right, had been groaning under an insupportable burden, and yet in 1698 it was necessary to pass a special Act, giving greater powers in the matter of settling incumbents, and in dealing with refractory parishes.

Robert Wodrow, minister of Eastwood, and collector of all sorts of tales about Episcopalians and Covenanters, unconsciously has borne the same witness. He had perhaps the most ample correspondence of any one in Scotland, and he knew what was going on all over. After the Disestablishment, most of the Episcopalian incumbents on being ejected carried on the services elsewhere, but almost all of them advanced somewhat by adopting the Prayer Book, which they had not used when under the law. Wodrow in 1709 notes, "English service setting up busily in the north at Inverness, Aberdeen, Elgin, Montrose and many other places." In Forfarshire, always strongly episcopal, he hears with regret "the meeting houses are increasing and they bury their dead with the liturgy and the clergy in their habits. . . Lately Lord Glamis had these rites punctually observed and performed, I may say by all the prelatic clergy of Angus (but not a Presbyterian minister) in their canonic gowns." The problem of what to do with so many prelatists in his parish greatly puzzled the minister of Tealing and he wrote to Wodrow for advice. His reply shows the strength of the Disestablished party. He urges preaching about it, catechising, consort-

ing with the gentry, the holding up of Presbyterians as the better Scots, and Episcopalians as being enslaved to England. He confesses he would like to go to Parliament, but is afraid of what might happen there, and that perhaps an already bad situation might be made worse.

When the union of the Crowns took place in 1707 the Establishment was still so weak that it had to get a special clause protecting it put in.

Episcopacy had been defeated by Presbyterianism in a contest for power, not because it was the weaker, but because Presbytery had the King and the Government at its back. To say that the people of Scotland cast it off at the Revolution as an insupportable burden is a travesty of history, and is contradicted by evidence from every side. The ultimate success of Presbytery and the declension of Episcopacy was brought about by quite other causes, which will be stated in due course.

(*b*) *Ultimate Success of Presbyterian Establishment*

The vast majority of churchmen previous to the Revolution had been wedded to a particular political belief. Righty or wrongly they had accepted the theory of the divine right of kings as it was held then, and it was this belief that lay behind all that seems to us Erastianism pure and simple. The King's flight in 1688 did not in their view release them from their oath of allegiance,

and they looked on the coming of the Prince of Orange as a mere temporary episode that would soon pass. They kept themselves therefore in a state of expectation, looking constantly for the king from "over the water." To a government not over firmly settled in its seat, the mere existence of such a body was a constant menace, and it was not in human nature to expect any government to feel kindly disposed to men who were only awaiting its overthrow to resume their old places. This Jacobitism on the part of the bishops reduced them to a state of complete inactivity. Without the sanction and approval of the King they felt themselves unable to take any steps, and constantly expecting him back they thought any such action useless. They simply allowed the Church to drift, and practically to bleed to death for want of effectual organization. As a bit of romance it was very beautiful and touching, but it cost the Church very dear.

Once indeed there came a bright gleam of light, and it seemed to enthusiastic people as if the desired-for time had come. The rising of the '15 was quite as much a rising in favour of the Church as in favour of the Stuarts, and for a time things looked very black for the Government. The ultimate issue however was never doubtful, and it is amusing to see how Wodrow in his correspondence sees in it the opportunity of the Establishment. Prelatists, he looks upon as having delivered themselves into the hands of the enemy,

and he rejoices that now at last the Government will be obliged to take stern measures. "Almost all the liturgy men were with Mar." "Not one who was ever reckoned Presbyterian is with him." "It's probable that both popery and prelacy will receive a wound by this that will never be cured." "Prelatical ministers intruded into all the pulpits." "The ministers at Aberdeen were put out of their churches." "At Montrose the magistrates rose at two o'clock on Sunday morning to get the church ready for the curates." Similar quotations might be largely multiplied from Wodrow, who lived all through the rising, and gleefully anticipated the day of reckoning. When that day came it brought punishment of a very severe kind, and while the Establishment was strengthened the Church was correspondingly weakened. The '15 gave the Presbyterians their first real security from Episcopalians.

Exactly the same thing happened in the '45. Episcopalians were Jacobite almost to a man, and those who took part in the rising looked for the setting up of the Church as well as of the Chevalier. The day of the Stuarts however had gone, and each attempt only made the lot of the Episcopalians all the more bitter. Gradually diminishing in number as the old steadfast Jacobites died or as the less steadfast deserted them, they clung to their romantic faith in the Stuarts till 1788, steadily refusing to recognize or pray for the reigning King. As they declined the Establish-

ment strengthened, and, paradoxical as it may seem, it is literally true, not only that the bishops disestablished the Church in 1688, but that they were the chief helpers of the new Establishment at the time when it was weakest, and all through the next hundred years.

The Establishment was helped indirectly by the Jacobitism of the Church, but this indirect help was greatly seconded by the vigour and the thoroughness of the persecution inflicted partly by the Presbyterians, partly by the Government. In 1660 when the Church was established every effort was made to induce Presbyterians to come in. In 1690 when Presbyterians were established every effort was made to keep Episcopalians out. The King proposed to the Assembly a plan by which Episcopalians were to receive a certain amount of toleration and recognition, but the Assembly would have none of it. There was nothing it feared so much as an influx of Episcopalians, a matter which in the early days was quite possible. "The sceptre which they now held would probably depart from them." To prevent any risk of such a *contretemps*, the Assembly in 1693 passed an Act which every one knew to be aimed at non-Jacobite Episcopalians. By that Act every minister was to take the oaths of allegiance and assurance, sign the Westminster Confession as the confession of his own faith, and accept Presbyterian Government as the only government of the Church. Presbyterians were relieved from the

oath of assurance, but not Episcopalians. The Act did its work well. It kept out Episcopalians, but it has proved a source of great trouble to the Established Church, which would now thankfully be rid of it.[1]

The part of the Government in persecuting was very thoroughly done, so thoroughly that it was almost successful. In 1716 an order was received from the King to shut up meeting houses in Edinburgh, because the clergy ministering in them had not registered their "letters of orders" and refused to pray for the King by name. Twenty-two Episcopal clergy in Edinburgh were each fined twenty pounds. By an Act of 1719 no clergyman was allowed to officiate in any place, where nine or more persons were present in addition to the members of the household unless he had taken the oath of abjuration and prayed for the King by name. The Act pressed very hardly on many inoffensive people who had conscientious scruples about the oath, but who were anxious to live quietly under the Government. Some, feeling fewer scruples, qualified by taking the oath, and were allowed to minister, and quite without meaning it the Government had split Episcopalians into two bodies. The "qualified" clergy were not made very comfortable by Jacobite bishops, and bit by bit they fell outside the Church and became to all intents and purposes a body of independents, using the Prayer Book and having episcopally or-

[1] v. p. 117.

dained ministers. In time the schism became quite a serious matter, weakening the Church and lasting to our own day.

The chief burst of persecution, however, came after the '45. Few people realize how nearly the '45 was successful, or what it would have meant had it actually been successful. The savage cruelty with which those who had taken part in it were hunted down like wild beasts, shows us the Government view of the matter. It was mainly on Episcopalians that the blow fell, and it just missed its aim and object. Episcopalians were within a little of being annihilated in fact as they were in law, but "a remnant was left."

The coming storm was foreshadowed in the manner in which the Government troops everywhere treated Episcopal chapels. In almost every case they were burned, or when that was impossible destroyed or put into such a condition as to be useless to their owners. Under an Act of 1746 Episcopalian ministers were obliged to register their letters of orders, take the oaths, and pray for the King by name. Not to comply with this law meant six months' imprisonment for the first offence and banishment for the second, and every house in which there were five persons was declared a meeting house. The clergy were placed in a cruel dilemma. The bishops were uncompromising Jacobites and would take no oaths, but not all the clergy were such. If they took the oaths they were censured and reprimanded by the

bishops—no light thing for men of their strong Church views—while if they remained non-jurors there were plenty of people on the watch to denounce them to the Government.

Hitherto the Government, in punishing, had confined itself to the clergy, but in this Act the laity were included. For attending any illegal meeting house and not giving information every layman was liable to fine and imprisonment. For a second offence the penalties were increased. The ordinary layman was deprived of his vote, could not be councillor or magistrate, or member of Parliament, and became, as far as Government could make him, a mere cipher. If a peer offended he was deprived of his vote, and could not be elected one of the representative peers of the country. Native clergy were given till September 1 to register. After that, only Letters of Orders from English or Irish bishops would be accepted. A meaner or more cowardly method of punishing for a political offence can hardly be imagined. Worse, however, was to come. In spite of all the laws, Episcopalians somehow managed to do a great deal, and more cruel enactments still were put in force. By the Act of 1748 Letters of Orders from a Scottish bishop, although already registered, were declared null and void after September 29, and the penalties against both clergy and laity were increased. Much suffering of a patient kind was endured under these cruel laws, which for many years were very strictly enforced. Several

clergy were imprisoned, and at least one was banished for celebrating a marriage. Echoes of that fierce persecution can be heard even yet in many a parish in Scotland, and it was only the fact that Episcopalians did not take to arms that prevented bloodshed. They preferred to suffer quietly—evading the law wherever and whenever they could, but if caught, ready to stand the punishment. Two entries in the Register of Baptisms of the Congregation at Muthill take us back with strange feelings to those hard days.

> "1746. The confusion of the times, occasioned by a civil war now waging in this country, and the persecution that followed in great severity, often driving me from attending to my charge, make a chasm here that cannot now be filled up; for though many baptisms were performed, the inserting of them was not attended to in proper time, but some room is left for such as may be recovered."—W. E. (William Erskine.)

The empty space still stands, pathetic in its blankness.

A little farther on in the same book there stands the following—

> "1750. Helen, lawful daur of Andrew Moir and Ann Grey, in Crofthead of Farmtown, born the 18th, was baptized the 20th day of March, 1750.

> "N.B.—With such excessive severity were the penal laws executed at this time, that Andrew Moir, having neglected to keep his appointment with me at my own house this morning, and following me to Lord Rollo's house of Duncrub [*about nine miles off.* AUTH.], we could not take the child into a house, and I was obliged to go under cover of trees in one of Lord Rollo's parks to prevent our being discovered, and baptized the child there."

Persecution as thoroughly and persistently carried out as this, was bound to have an effect. The first generation of Episcopalians stood fast in spite of persecution, but as the second grew up a change came. The penalties were so heavy, the difficulties so great, and the means of escape so easy and close at hand—simply to attend the parish church—that we do not wonder many gave way. The real wonder is that so many continued faithful, and that men were always found ready to offer themselves for the ministry of so proscribed a body. When the end of it came towards the latter end of the eighteenth century, the once strong and flourishing Church had been reduced to "the shadow of a shade"—in many parts of the country had disappeared altogether.

The foregoing sections have shown how Episcopalians themselves proved the greatest friends of the Established Church in the days of its weak-

ness, by their persistent Jacobitism and the Government persecutions which that called down upon them. They weakened their own position still further, and indirectly strengthened the position of their opponents, by the miserable dissensions which for the first thirty years of the eighteenth century characterized all they did. The gradual growth of a body of Episcopalians separated from the bishops of the country was a matter which, in the then state of political feeling, was hardly to be avoided, but that bishops and clergy, just deprived of all their temporal goods, and agreeing in suffering this deprivation for conscience' sake, should immediately begin to quarrel with each other was enough to make angels weep. The bishops of the early eighteenth century were of a much "higher" type theologically than their predecessors of the seventeenth. While they continued bishops of the Established Church, their practice, whatever their opinions might be, was restrained by considerations of prudence and loyalty, but as soon as they were freed from the bonds of Establishment, and free to develop, they gave themselves with much enthusiasm to the study of older ideals. In union with their nonjuring brethren in England, they turned to the records and practices of the Primitive Church, as their solace and inspiration under their new circumstances. There they found quite a different standard in connection with the two greater sacraments of the Church from any they had been used

to, and this standard seemed to them not only to be true in itself, but to be in some ways absolutely essential to the well-being of the Church. Hence arose what was called the Battle of the Usages, in the course of which the bishops made themselves the laughing-stock of the neighbouring Presbyterians, and gave an opportunity for the outpouring of such ridicule upon the Church as would, had it been only a human society, assuredly have completely killed it. The Usages, about which such unseemly contentions were made, were, most of them, ritual points about which doubtless men will continue to differ: the mixed chalice, the Invocation and Oblation in the Holy Communion, Baptism by immersion, the use of chrism in Confirmation, Unction of the Sick, the commemoration of the faithful departed. The bishops were sharply divided into two parties over the matter, and contended with each other, and used such tactics as even ordinary party politicians would disdain to use. If one party seemed likely to prevail in numbers, the other party promptly consecrated just as many of its own side as would suffice to turn the scale, and the episcopate was degraded by being used merely as the instrument by which one party gained an unworthy triumph over another. Another question, which gradually crept into the dispute, the question of a restoration of the old Diocesan system, made things bitterer than ever, but also placed it upon a far higher basis, and produced a result which was perhaps

worth even the unseemly squabbling which preceded it. That result we shall now proceed to unfold in some detail.

(c) *Main Results of the Hundred Years*

(1) Purification of the Church from every taint of Erastianism.

At the time of the Disestablishment in 1690 the Scottish Church was divided into fourteen dioceses, and when the Bill passed into law the bishops quietly withdrew into private life. Their complete disappearance from public affairs was so marked that Viscount Dundee, the Royalist leader, spoke of them wittily as "the Kirk Invisible." At first they simply sat still, waiting, as they hoped, for the storm to blow over. They were in constant correspondence with King James, and afterwards with his son, the Chevalier, and they still looked upon themselves as holding their positions under him. The agents of the Chevalier continued to encourage them in this feeling, and to flatter them with gracious messages from the exiled Prince. As long as they lived they looked after the Church in a vague kind of way, keeping up the power of superintendence they had, while Established, but most of them were old men, and death soon reduced their number. As a remedy for this, and to preserve the succession till the "King should enjoy his own again," they conse-

crated presbyters to the episcopate, but gave these no jurisdiction, leaving that as a matter for settlement later. The last of the old race died in 1720, and it was absolutely necessary that some arrangement should be come to, and at a meeting of clergy after Bishop Rose's funeral it was agreed that the Church should be governed by a college of bishops acting together, instead of by single bishops, each having supreme jurisdiction in his own diocese. At the meeting Bishop Fullarton was chosen by the presbyters of Edinburgh as their diocesan, and it was felt that there ought to be a bishop resident in Edinburgh. The arrangements revealed a cleavage of opinion among the bishops, one party being in favour of the proposed and adopted arrangement, while the other party wished to fall back on the diocesan system. The cleavage coincided with cleavage on another point as well, the bishops who were in favour of the usages being also in favour of the diocesan system, and the non-usager bishops in favour of the college system. That there was something to be said for the college system, unepiscopal as it looked, is evident from a letter of Bishop Fullarton's dated September 1720. "There is none of us able to maintain ourselves in these districts, and the people will give little or nothing to subsist them; nay, the very presbytery that officiate among them are in great straits." The two parties were very active in their own interests, and the Chevalier's agents

did the best they could to maintain the college system, as keeping the Church more subservient to the Royalist party. The advocates of the diocesan system, however, gradually gained strength, and in 1731 an agreement between the two parties was entered into by which the government of the Church could be carried on. This was the first step towards independence of action on the part of the bishops, and really marks the foundation of the system of constitutional government in the modern Church. Briefly the concordat was as follows :

1. Only the English or the Scottish Liturgy was to be used, and no usages were to be introduced.
2. No bishop was to be consecrated without the consent and approbation of a majority of the other bishops.
3. No bishop was to be elected without a mandate from the Primus by consent of the other bishops.
4. The Primus, for convocating and presiding only, was to be chosen by the bishops, and no bishop was to claim jurisdiction outside his own district.

Districts preserving the boundaries of the ancient dioceses were arranged, and a cautious note, in view of hostile people, was added. "By the foresaid divisions of districts we do not pretend to claim any legal title to dioceses." The concordat was a very modest but businesslike agreement,

but it held in it the seeds of greater things, and none were quicker to perceive this than the agents of the Chevalier. It was intimated to the bishops in 1739, after the death of the Bishop of Edinburgh, that it was the Chevalier's command that no one be nominated to that office. It was the last flicker of the old authority, and at the time the bishops had not yet grown strong enough to resist. Meanwhile the presbyters of Edinburgh were clamouring for a mandate to elect a new bishop, and the bishops, in obedience to the Chevalier were putting the matter off. The tension of feeling that arose over this gave point to a more serious trouble in 1743. In that year the bishops met and drew up a number of canons for the better government of the Church. The canons themselves were of an inoffensive nature, and probably would have been beneficial, but the Edinburgh presbyters felt that one in particular was aimed at them. They therefore organized opposition to them, mainly on the ground that the presbyters of the Church had not been represented in the Synod that drew them up, and they claimed that it was the undoubted right of the presbyters to sit in Synods with their bishops, not merely to hear and propose, but also to vote. This spirited remonstrance on the part of the presbyters rather astonished the bishops, and they affected to pay no heed to it. It seemed as if all the lessons of the past were completely thrown away on the bishops, but at last the Primus wrote,

saying nothing could be done till an Episcopal Synod was held. Meanwhile the '45 swept over the country, and put an effectual stop to all clerical disputings. By the time the Church was done with the results of the rising, and was ready to meet in Synod, all their ideas had undergone a complete change, and the old Erastianism had been completely purged out in the fires of persecution. The next Synod proceeded to legislate in complete independence of King or Government, and with the aid of presbyters as well as bishops.

(2) The evolution of the idea of toleration.

The idea of tolerating different beliefs and practices in a nation was not one that commended itself to the Fathers of the seventeenth century. The true Covenanting idea was exactly the old Romanist position—compulsion for all—and when the new Establishment was set up in 1690 it was the bitter complaint of the Covenanters, that not any recognition was given to the Covenants, with their persecuting and compelling clauses. King William was no persecutor, and his influence restrained much of the zeal of the Presbyterian party. When the dispossessed Episcopalians began to use the Liturgy and to have meeting houses, the whole question was raised, and much bitter feeling aroused. Wodrow's letters are full of the matter, and he dreads that the party will get "more and more uppish," but he is afraid to urge any strict measures lest the issue should be

a legal toleration. What Wodrow dreaded actually came to pass, and it was the extreme party among the Presbyterians who, by their own measures, helped to bring in the first Bill that stripped away part of their own power.

In the year 1709 a clergyman named Greenshields, son of a "rabbled out" parish minister, took charge of a meeting house in Edinburgh. In his services he used the Prayer Book, and the Presbytery of Edinburgh promptly interfered, and summoned him to appear before them to give account of his authority to act as a minister and for "innovating" in public worship. He refused to acknowledge their authority over him, and they at once appealed to the civil magistrates for assistance. Still he refused to recognize their jurisdiction, and was then put into prison, where he was kept for several months. An application to the Court of Session to be set free was refused, as he remained contumacious. He carried an appeal to the House of Lords, which reversed the decision of the Court of Session, and found the magistrates of Edinburgh liable in costs. The case was only one of many which might have been fought, but it produced the most substantial result in the Toleration Bill of 1712. This Bill, introduced "to prevent the disturbing of those of the Episcopal Communion in that part of Great Britain called Scotland," was strongly opposed by the General Assembly, and fasts and prayers and addresses were used to prevent its passing. By this Act it

was made lawful for Episcopalians to assemble for Divine service in any town or place except the parish church, and to use, if they thought fit, the Liturgy of the Church of England. Episcopal ministers were allowed not only to pray and preach, but also to administer baptisms and celebrate marriages, and every protection was to be given them while doing this. The Bill was clogged with the usual oaths of allegiance, assurances and abjuration, and at every service the Queen, the Princess Sophia, and the rest of the Royal Family, were to be prayed for. So far as the majority of the Episcopalians were concerned it brought little relief, because of the oaths and conditions attached to it, but it was the first instalment of a new method of dealing with the religious difficulty, and as such, memorable.

At first the Bill rather exasperated than softened feeling, and by the fact that one of its clauses exempted Nonconformists from the jurisdiction of the Established Church, it seemed to open the way to great loosening of discipline. Men could always escape that by becoming Nonconformist. Wodrow, as usual, gives a fair idea of the views of the extreme party. He himself did not believe in toleration, and he describes, in a letter to his wife, how the preacher at the Assembly of 1714 lamented "that his Church was like to be corrupted by the inclinations to, and setting up of the unscriptural and unlawful English Liturgy."

As the century advanced, Episcopalians ren-

dered it impossible for the Government to advance further, by their complicity in political movements, but when quieter times came, and the Established Church had lost all fear of the poor down-trodden Episcopalians, the principle involved in the Toleration Act was not forgotten. In 1792, when Episcopalians had been purged of Jacobitism, the worst of the restrictions were removed, and Episcopalians became practically free from all disabilities in connection with their worship. For many a year before that the penal laws had been almost a dead letter, and Presbyterians were among the first to testify to the excellence of Episcopalian citizenship, and so to help them to a measure of freedom they had long desired.

(3) Evolution of the Scottish Office.

While the Church of the eighteenth century was gradually learning to find itself and its own freedom in the circumstances of the day, it also managed to produce a liturgical manual which claims the admiration of all who are interested in such matters, and the love of all who use it. We have seen that partly before the Toleration Act of 1712, and partly in consequence of it, the use of the Book of Common Prayer became general among the disestablished Episcopalians. For all ordinary purposes it became the Service Book of the Church, except for the Communion Service. Very few of the native Episcopalians were contented with that Service, and turned instead to the

Service in the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637. That differed in several very important respects from the Service in the English Book, being modelled more on the Service of the first Prayer Book of 1549. Even that Service, however, did not satisfy the liturgical requirements of the Scots, as their close intercourse with their nonjuring brethren in England had given them higher ideas of Churchmanship, and a truer sense of liturgical worship. While the matter of the Service was all right for the most part, its arrangement did not seem to them as primitive as it should be, and consequently in using the book they got into a way of altering the order of the Service for themselves. Bishop Gadderar, by far the most active bishop on the bench, published in 1724 an edition of the Communion Office as it stood, but pen and ink directions about the order of the parts were inserted on the title page. This he called the Scottish Liturgy, and as the little book circulated widely it familiarized people with the Office. In 1731 came the Concordat, by which permission to use the English or the Scottish Liturgy was given. There seems little doubt that there was some misapprehension of the meaning of "Scottish Liturgy." Those who were in favour of the Usages claimed Gadderar's edition as being the Scottish Liturgy, while the other party undoubtedly meant the Liturgy of 1637. The matter advanced a stage in 1735, when two Edinburgh booksellers published an edition which was printed in the order in

which it was said. This only put in print what everybody already put in practice, but two alterations were made which were of importance. They introduced the phrase "Which we now offer unto Thee" into the prayer of Consecration, and they struck out "Militant here on earth" from the introduction to the prayer for the Church. In 1743 another edition of Gadderar was published, which practically became the Communion Office of the north. Next year, in 1744, came out an epoch-making book by Bishop Rattray, entitled, *The Ancient Liturgy of Jerusalem.* In it he showed conclusively that the most ancient liturgies followed a different order from the English Prayer Books, and that the nonjurors' liturgy of 1718, or the Scottish edition of 1735, came much nearer to them than any others. In 1755 Bishop Falconar published a new edition of the Scottish Liturgy, adopting the sequence of parts which Rattray had proved to be most primitive. Last of all there appeared in 1764 that which has since become almost the standard (if there be any standard) in Scotland, under the editorship of Bishops Falconar and Forbes. For some unexplained reason, and certainly with no proper Church authority, they made changes in the text of the office which have been a source of trouble ever since. Following ancient precedent, the Scottish Liturgy had an Invocation of the Holy Spirit on the elements of bread and wine, but, also following ancient precedent, carefully guarded by a prayer showing the

purpose of the Invocation. This prayer the bishops omitted, and they also changed the "may be unto us the Body and Blood" into "may become the Body and Blood," giving, to those not accustomed to exact thinking, a handle to accuse the Episcopal Church of holding the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

The Office was almost universally used by the nonjuring congregations in Scotland, and in the darkest days of the Church's history was the Office through which the Faithful approached the altar. Had the eighteenth century done nothing else for the Church, it would have been memorable for this.

The Consecration of Bishop Seabury

Closely connected with the story of the Scottish Communion Office, and fitly closing the work of the nonjuring Church, was the consecration of Dr. Samuel Seabury as the first bishop for the United States of America. The great Civil War in America had been brought to an end by the recognition of the independence of the American States in 1783. Previously to the war, the Church in America had formed part of the English Establishment. It had no resident bishops, and candidates for ordination had to be sent to England. The American clergy, who had long felt the inconvenience of this arrangement, approached the English bishops to consecrate Dr. Seabury for

work in America. This they were quite anxious to do, but they were hampered by the necessity of administering the oath of allegiance which Dr. Seabury, as a citizen of the new Republic, could not take. Failing there, he applied to the Scottish bishops, who, though still living under the penal laws, were otherwise free from State control. After some preliminary difficulties had been got over, the consecration took place at Aberdeen in 1784, Bishop John Skinner preaching a famous sermon, in which he twitted the English bishops with paying more heed to Acts of Parliament than to the Acts of the Apostles. A concordat between the Scottish bishops and Bishop Seabury was entered into, of which the most important article related to the Scottish Communion Office. Seabury agreed to consider it, and if found agreeable to the standards of antiquity, to sanction it. In 1786, therefore, it was, with some slight alterations, adopted in Connecticut, and when the American Church adopted the Book of Common Prayer, it made such alterations in the Communion Office as brought that into line with the Scottish Office. To-day, nothing in the whole of the American Church is more esteemed than its Communion Office, and American Churchmen are proud of their connection in this way with the "persecuted remnant" in Scotland, and have shown their pride and their gratitude in various tangible forms in Aberdeen and Edinburgh.

The eighteenth century, terrible as it was for

the poor Episcopalians in Scotland, was yet brimful of the best possible results in the long run. To have learnt the true meaning of the Church, and to be purified from the last dregs of Erastianism, even if at the cost of much suffering, was worth the cost; while to have been the means of bringing about religious toleration, and of handing on to America the double gift of the Episcopate and a Communion Office, were achievements of which any Church might be proud. Disestablishment has not been all bad.

CHAPTER XII

THE CHURCH RECOVERING ITS STRENGTH: THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Church, as it emerged from the eighteenth century, showed very visible signs of the hardships it had undergone. When first cut off from the State it consisted of slightly over a thousand clergy, thirteen bishops (one diocese was vacant, though the bishop had been chosen), and at least two-thirds of the people of the country. At the end of the eighteenth century it had been reduced to some forty clergy, four bishops, and a mere handful of people—mainly in the north and north-east of Scotland. As of old, it was still disunited in many matters of opinion, but the fires of persecution had purified out that which had been the weakness of the Church all along—its Erastianism, and if it was small, it at least knew what it was. It had learned, though at a terrible cost, that the Church is not merely a department of the State, and that however the State might harass it with oppressive laws, it could not touch its Divine constitution. It had come down to the bed-rock, and had now some principle on which it could build.

Of organization, as we understand the word, it had almost none. It had its bishops exercising some kind of jurisdiction in their own districts, but there was no union, or only the very slightest, between the different districts. Except as united by the Concordat of 1731, each bishop exercised independent sway in his own district, and the idea of corporateness in the different congregations did not exist. Proscribed by the law as it had been, it had had no legal existence, and could not hold property, and its churches or chapels, usually very humble, so as not to attract attention, were the property of individuals, sometimes the minister, sometimes the laird. There were no vestries, or boards of managers, or trustees, for the same reason. The minute book of the church at Muthill, Perthshire, in recording the steps taken in 1834 to form a vestry, alludes to this state of affairs. The chapel was the minister's property, and his services were given without any agreement as to stipend, because "no one could legally hold office or give assurance."

Bishops, who were themselves usually incumbents of some charge, ruled their districts autocratically, when they ruled at all. The distance between the various congregations, except in Aberdeenshire, was a great bar to any concerted action or Church life. Between Stirling and Forfar, a distance of some sixty miles, only one church, Muthill, had continued since the Revolution. Individual incumbents, scattered over the

country in lonely charges, worked away as best they could, managing somehow to keep in touch with their widely-spread flocks, and the MS. books of baptisms show over how wide an area most of them worked.

The laity who worshipped in these humble chapels were many of them very devoted, but could do very little to improve matters. For merely attending the services they were liable up to 1792 to fines and imprisonments and loss of their rights as citizens. Though they numbered representatives of some of the most famous families in Scotland, most of them were miserably poor. The '45 had hit many of them very hardly, and the results of the loss of lands, and the payment of heavy fines, have not altogether disappeared even yet. The clergy had to live on a mere pittance—£10 to £20 being about the ordinary stipend, sometimes even less, and yet somehow they managed to live and find young men willing to be ordained.

The theology of the Church was, as might be expected, somewhat narrow and pedantic. Separated from the bulk of the nation, and compelled to live their little life very much within themselves, churchmen naturally drifted into little grooves, and in such matters as the Usages, or Hutchinsonianism, found an outlet for their faculties that was denied them elsewhere. Their very bearing among their fellows became timid and apologetic. They never imagined that they should be able to lift up

their heads and play any part in the work of the nation, and the idea of claiming such a part as a right never dawned upon them. Their one desire was simply to be left alone. They were looked upon by their neighbours with a kind of superstitious curiosity as a survival of a former age thrown up high and dry, having about them a kind of halo of romance, but harmless and respectable. In Aberdeenshire alone, where they were close together and fairly numerous, to be a "chapel man" implied no loss of nationality. In all other districts of Scotland they formed a people apart, with their own little habits and customs, differing from their neighbours round about.

The first note of change sounded, as was most to be expected, from the north. When the last Stewart died in 1788, the clergy of the north took steps to effect a change in their position. At a meeting which they held they came to a resolution that a favourable opportunity had now come for making their peace with the Government. This resolution was communicated to the various clergy, and the bishops took action by ordering that the State prayers, introducing the name of the King, should be said. The agreement was practically unanimous among the clergy, but they found that the old Jacobite feeling was far from dead among the laity. "Pray for that Hanoverian scoundrel!" said a laird, when informed of the resolution. In many of the chapels opposition was raised in various ways, but it gradually died away, and the

Church, its loyalty now purged, was free to take the next step. The penal laws had been for many years practically obsolete, but as long as they remained on the statute book they were a standing menace to any development. The Seabury consecration had attracted notice in England, and had made the position of the Church known to many who had hardly imagined its existence. Powerful friends both in Scotland and England pleaded the cause of the "little remnant," and at length, in 1792, after many vexatious delays, the Relief Bill was carried through Parliament. It was hampered by certain restrictions. No Scottish ordained clergyman was to be eligible for an English benefice, and the Act was not to take effect till the Thirty-nine Articles had been signed. The first restriction caused little trouble. Scotsmen were more anxious to serve their native Church than to look for promotion in England, but the second was not so easily got over. Many of the clergy looked upon the Articles as Calvinistic, and for some time nothing was done, but in the end good sense and moderation carried the day, and the worst of the legal restrictions was gone.

The discussions about the Act of 1792 brought the bishops into closer contact with the English clergy, and called forth many expressions of sympathy, and many declarations of the complete oneness of the two Churches. As the century went on, and intercourse with England increased, the first restriction, which lay so lightly at the begin-

ning, was found to be very troublesome, and to give a completely wrong idea of the relationship of the Churches. Some relief was obtained in 1840 by a Bill which allowed a Scottish priest to officiate in an English church on one, or at most two Sundays. This conceded the whole point of intercommunion, but it still left some feeling of exclusion. It was not till 1864 that the last shred of legal disability was done away with, when Scottish ordained clergy were placed on exactly the same footing, in the matter of working in England, as their English brethren. The Bill was the last instalment of a tardy act of justice to a body that had suffered long, but it was violently opposed in some quarters in Scotland, as conferring a privilege on Episcopalians which was denied to ministers of the Established Church.

Freed from the harassing restrictions of legal enactment at the beginning of the century, other influences had now full scope to mould and develop the little Church, and just when she most needed it, she was fortunate in possessing, in one of her bishops, a leader of statesmanlike mind. John Skinner had been brought up under the penal laws, and in his father's company had spent six months in Aberdeen jail, in connection with them. No one knew better than he the characteristics of his Church and of his countrymen, and no one was better fitted than he to give his Church just the lead that was required at a critical time. He had been the

moving spirit in the carrying through of the Relief Act, and it was he who, aided by some high-minded laymen, now proceeded to take steps to organize the scattered congregations into one Church. He knew that the weakness of the Church lay in its isolation, and he saw, existing around him, the means for taking it out of that isolation. The Qualified Chapels, though in no way connected officially with the Church of England, were yet in most cases ministered to by men who were in close touch with England, and a union of the nonjuring and Qualified Chapels would benefit immensely the cause of episcopacy, and bring the whole Church into closer union with the Church of England. The time seemed to him opportune, now that no political question divided them, for attempting to bring about the desired union. At a convocation of clergy, summoned by him at Laurencekirk in 1804, the first step was taken. Hitherto the nonjuring congregations had had no standards of any kind other than the three creeds, but, in order to obtain the full benefits of the Act of 1792, and, if possible, to bring in the Qualified Chapels, it was now proposed that the Church should adopt the Thirty-nine Articles. After some discussion this was agreed to, and then a concordat was drawn up under which union might take place. The main articles of the agreement were of the simplest possible nature, and were easily accepted by many of the leaders among the Qualified Clergy. These immediately came over

with their congregations, and submitted to the bishops, giving strength just when it was most needed. Some of the new clergy were men of great ability and influence, and they brought into what had been rather a narrow body a breath of the fresh air of a wider world than Scotland.

The next task was to provide the united Church with a constitution, and Bishop Skinner after some time faced this serious question. He began by writing a letter to Bishop Sandford of Edinburgh (one of the Qualified Clergy who had come in), in which he gave a historical sketch of the attempts that had been made from time to time to draw up a body of canons. He pointed out that the code last drawn up in 1743 was far from satisfactory, and suggested a Synod of the whole Church to consider the matter. The Synod met in Aberdeen in June 1811, and consisted of the bishops and the representatives of the presbyters, who, however, had no vote. The lesson of 1743 had not been lost on the bishops, and there was now on the bench a bishop of greater intellectual ability than the Primus, and one whose influence was distinctly felt in all the proceedings, Bishop Gleig, Incumbent of Stirling and Bishop of Brechin. The Primus (Bishop Skinner) presided with great dignity and solemnity over the Synod, which lasted two days, and drew up a body of canons, which was the foundation of all future constitutional government, and which placed the Church, as to its administration, on a new and

broader basis. The fifth canon was the most important, and ran as follows:

> "Whereas, hitherto the constitution of the Church has been such that a synod . . . has consisted of the bishops only, aided by the advice of the deans who sat with them . . . it is hereby enacted that every synod called for the purpose of altering the code of canons shall consist of two chambers, of which the second shall be composed of the deans, and representatives of the clergy . . . and that no law or canon shall be enacted or abrogated but by the consent and with the approbation of both chambers."

The other canons were of less importance. The Scottish Communion Office was, on the motion of an English clergyman, adopted as the primary office of the Church, and ordered to be used at all consecrations, and a recommendation was added that the surplice should be worn in reading prayers and administering sacraments, but that prudence and discretion should be displayed in introducing it.

The new constitution drew the Church together and its work went quietly on. The great movement that was to transform the Anglican communion was not yet born, but looking back on its influence on Scotland we can see the great value

of all that was being done in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. Scotland was, unknown to itself, preparing itself for the great re-animation that was coming, and was providing the machinery through which the new influence could work.

In 1828 another synod was held, under the new conditions, when a further step towards solidifying the Church was taken. The Primus (Bishop Gleig) accurately described the new conditions as follows :

> "A consistory or diocesan meeting of the bishop and clergy must be annually holden in each district or diocese. . . The bishop, or in his absence the dean, or in his absence the senior presbyter, must call upon every Incumbent to lodge with the diocesan clerk his yearly report of the congregation under his charge, the number of baptisms, marriages and deaths : the number of communicants at the several festivals and other communions, and the names of the persons baptized, married and dead, with the dates at which these events took place. . . The clergy shall deliberate . . . whether any change in the mode of discipline or form of public worship might not be advantageously introduced into the district, and the result of their deliberations shall be transmitted to the bishop, if not present, to be approved or rejected by him."

This synod of 1828 also passed a most important canon to the effect that a general synod of the Church should be held every five years. The canon would have forced the Church to face questions as they came up, and would probably have been of untold good, but next year, in 1829, it was, mainly on the instigation of Bishop Jolly, repealed. The good man, living by himself among his books in far-away Fraserburgh, was much afraid the Church was going too fast, and scented ruin to Episcopacy if the canon were allowed to stand.

The constitution now agreed upon sufficed, with some additions, noted later in another connection, for the needs of the Church till 1862. The interval had been marked by a very great expansion of the Church in Scotland. Mission work and church extension work had been taken up with great enthusiasm, and the new canons reflect the increased zeal. Laymen were now given an equal voice with the clergy in the election of bishops; while curates, lay readers, and catechists had to be legislated for and given a definite standing. Perhaps the most important change made was the adoption of the Book of Common Prayer as the official service book of the Church, and the putting of the Scottish Communion Office into a secondary place. While still permitted, its adoption by new congregations was made very difficult, and it was replaced by the English Office on all official occasions—consecrations and

synods. This change marks the shifting of the centre of Church influence from Aberdeen to Edinburgh. Churchmen in the south of Scotland had not the same romantic attachment to the Scottish liturgy as churchmen in the north had, and it was very little used south of the Tay. Their great aim was more intimate communion with England, and they thought this would be better secured by the dropping of differences of outward expression. Forty years have passed since then, but the position remains exactly the same, except that now perhaps the feeling in favour of retaining the Scottish Office has considerably increased as men have learned to appreciate its unique beauty and value.

General synods were held in 1876, 1890 and 1905. The first and the last of these dealt with special questions, and the consideration of them will fall under the next section of this chapter. The synod of 1890, which was expected to deal with some important matters, and was looked forward to with great expectation, contented itself mainly with some re-adjustments rendered necessary by the advance of the Church, but made no great contribution to the constitutional power of the Church. One apparently small alteration was made, which showed the growth of theological feeling in a particular direction. The bishop of any diocese was given power under the canons, of performing all the offices of the church in any congregation on giving eight days' written

notice to the clergyman. Another alteration had reference to the interpretation of the canons, and it was made to be the law of the Church that the canons should be construed with reference to the principles of the civil law of Scotland, with an appeal if necessary to the canon law.

The Laity Question

The question of the rights and duties of the laity was raised almost as soon as the legal disabilities were removed. That result had been brought about mainly by the assistance of laymen, and it was also mainly due to laymen that the union of the nonjuring and qualified chapels was successfully accomplished. As congregations began to organize themselves, laymen were naturally called in to advise and assist and manage. The whole spirit of the age was against close corporations or mere autocracy on the part of bishops or clergy. Laymen became responsible for the temporal affairs of each congregation, and gradually the idea of taking a more definite share in the general work of the Church grew and took shape. As early as 1806 a society had been formed for the purpose of doing something for the Church, but it was purely voluntary, and met with only fair success. It revealed however what might be done under proper organization, and it resulted in the formation in 1838 of the Scottish Episcopal Church Society. This was no mere

voluntary organization, but an official part of the Church's machinery, provided for by the fortieth canon of the synod of 1838. Its objects, as stated in the canon, were as follows:

1. To provide a fund for aged and infirm clergymen, or salaries for their assistants, and general aid for congregations struggling with pecuniary difficulties.
2. To assist candidates for the ministry.
3. To provide episcopal schoolmasters, books and tracts for the poor.
4. To assist in the formation and enlargement of diocesan libraries.

To promote these purposes, a special collection was ordered to be made annually in each church in the diocese. The society was eminently successful, and it was the means of bringing clergy and laity together as nothing else had yet done. The Church was greatly benefited by the money which was raised, but much more by the quickening of life from the increased interest taken in the affairs of the Church. Laymen learned to feel their part in the Church as well as clergy.

That general quickening expressed itself in a letter, addressed to the Primus in 1852 by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, dealing with the whole question of the rights of the laity in the Church. Many years before, Dean Skinner of Forfar had raised the same question, but the time was not opportune, or the Church ready, and

nothing came of it. Now everything was changed. The Church was full of vigorous life as it had never been before, and Mr. Gladstone, whose name as a statesman and well-known devoted churchman carried great weight, outlined a scheme which he thought would be of great value, and yet not transgress any rule of Catholic tradition. The episcopal synod of 1852 considered his proposals, and resolved:

> "That the admission of the laity into ecclesiastic synods, under certain conditions, to speak and vote therein on a large class of ecclesiastical questions, is not inconsistent with the Word of God, and is not contrary to that pure constitution of the Church, to which it has been the special privilege of the Church in Scotland to bear testimony."

When the diocesan synods came to discuss the matter, they were not unanimous, and it was dropped for the time. Nothing more was done till 1870, when the question came up again and was vigorously argued from all points of view. It was felt however that the Church was not yet united on the matter, and that plenty of scope for lay work might be found outside the ecclesiastical synods. As a result of the turning of the question in this direction, the Representative Church Council was established in 1876, and the laity question remained quiescent for another twenty years.

The Church Society, while it had done a great work, had not been pre-eminently successful in meeting all the problems of a very rapidly growing Church, and some change on its original methods was found necessary. In 1871 the Equal Dividend Scheme was adopted. Every congregation contributed to a central fund called the Clergy Fund and the amount was equally divided among incumbents. The new Representative Church Council was called into being partly as a result of the agitation on the lay question, partly as a means of overtaking the growing work of the Church. The council, which was formed under a special canon, consists of the bishops, the clergy, the lay officials and the lay representatives, one of the latter being elected annually by each congregation to represent it along with its clergyman at the council and at the diocesan councils. The total number of members is about 650.

The council takes cognizance of the whole financial affairs and property of the Church, and has control over the funds of the Church in its corporate capacity, so far as committed to it. It meets annually for two or three days in one of the chief towns in Scotland, and its annual report is distributed to every member of the Church. Its work is carried on by boards, appointed to look after various branches of Church work, and it has an executive committee, which meets quarterly to carry on the business of the council. By means of this council funds are raised for clergy susten-

tation, including aged and infirm clergy funds, home missions, foreign missions, education, temperance, clergy training, and a number of other minor works falling under one or other of these main divisions.

The importance of this council to the Church can hardly be overrated. It is practically the Church's House of Commons, and without its aid a very large part of the work now done could not be attempted. In 1904 it raised for clergy fund £12,890, for home missions £4,317, for foreign missions £4,525, for education £959, besides many smaller sums for special purposes. It has raised up a body of laity keenly interested in all Church questions, and second to none in any branch of the Catholic Church. It has made its influence felt through its congregational committees in the remotest corner of the land, and has given more of the feeling of corporateness to the Church than anything else has ever done. Year by year it grows in importance and its work increases by leaps and bounds, and there is no doubt that it was its tremendous growth and activity which both laid to rest the laity question and revived it after a lapse of twenty years.

About the year 1900, however, the agitation on the lay question again reached an acute stage. Agitation went on in all the dioceses and the matter was fully discussed. No agreement seemed likely to be come to, and in 1904 the bishops

issued a commission to a large number of clergy and laity, to take evidence and if possible to make some recommendations. The main difficulty lay between those who, while anxious to see the laity represented in synods were unwilling that they should have the right to vote on, at least, doctrinal questions, and those who would have conceded to the laity exactly the same right on all questions as to the clergy, only stipulating that nothing should be enacted or abrogated except by a majority of each order—bishops, clergy and laity. The commission heard evidence from all parties, and at last issued its recommendations to the bishops. The proposals took the form of a compromise. A new body, called the Consultative Council was to be created and to consist of bishops, clergy and laity. The bishops were to have the right to nominate a certain number of clergy and laity, the others were to be elected by the diocesan councils in the proportion of one to every ten of each order. The bishops accepted the recommendation, and a general synod was held in 1905 to give effect to it. With some alterations from the original proposals, the plan was adopted and the first elections took place in 1906. The council has no legislative power, but it may discuss, and may offer subjects to the bishops as being ripe for legislation, and it has the right to be consulted before any proposed legislation is passed into law. No step of greater importance has ever been taken by the Church, and it prac-

tically completes the great broadening of the Church's basis that has been going on for a hundred years.

Influences affecting the Church in the nineteenth century

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Scotland occupied pretty much a position of isolation. A journey from England to Scotland was a serious matter, and seldom undertaken lightly. Since the publication of the *Lady of the Lake* raised the income from the post-horse duty very perceptibly, and with the coming in of improved and easy means of communication, all has been changed. Scotland has become the playground of the Empire, and thousands of English people have come to reside in its towns and country districts. Their presence, and the constant migration of Scots to England, has done much to break down old prejudices and to convince Scottish people that it is possible to be Episcopalian and yet intensely spiritual, and that there is something to be said for Episcopacy after all. The Tractarian revival of 1833 has affected the Church in Scotland, as it has every religious body in the land. Earnest English Tractarians learned to their great astonishment, that the teaching they were reviving in the face of so great difficulty, had been the common teaching of the Church in Scotland, and this discovery

stimulated interest in the little Church that has, in most cases, been to its great advantage. Ideas, books, men crossed the border to find a home among Scottish Episcopalians and that freedom of expansion which was denied them in England.

The movement was the great producer of cheap literature, and that, which the Scottish Church was not so able to produce for itself, was of great value. The Scottish Church became, more or less justly, connected with the doctrinal revival, and the increased interest told in its favour in the long run. Old theories about various matters, when examined in the light of the new enthusiasm, took a different colour, and the Church in Scotland gained many sincere converts.

At the same time influences were acting in Scotland which have contributed not a little to the advance of the Church. The old Calvinism of the Westminster Confession became more and more intolerable to thoughtful Presbyterians. Men openly ridiculed the idea of believing it, and the burden of what sat so lightly on their forefathers could be borne no longer by their sons.

The old Presbyterian form of worship has undergone a complete transformation. Organs, choirs, festival services are quite the usual order in the towns, while the observation of the great festivals of the Christian year grows more and more common. Chancels with communion tables,

and other church furniture are not at all unusual in the newer Presbyterian churches, and even the most rigid of the Presbyterian sects have felt the influence of the times. In the Established Church, there has grown up a strong Catholic party, keen on all questions of doctrine and worship, and claiming the right to exist and hold their beliefs. The published reports of the conferences of this party might well have come from a branch of the English Church Union, as on almost all questions, baptism, the Real Presence, the doctrine of a succession (apart from bishops), their teaching is almost identical with the teaching of the Tractarians. The atmosphere created by the existence of such teaching has not been unfavourable to the expansion of the Church.

The spirit of investigation has been abroad, and the more historical questions have been studied the more the Church's position has been justified. Historical characters have had to be re-conceived, and people in Scotland have learned that there is another side to the history that has passed current for so many years. The old Presbyterian chroniclers, Wodrow, Kirton, and Knox have been assessed at their proper value, and even Presbyterians have come to admit that the old Covenanting heroes were sometimes of very questionable character. The claim of a divine right for Presbytery has practically been given up, and the system is continued as a matter of expediency, rather than of principle.

Results of all these influences

The result of all the influences we have seen at work in the nineteenth century is the almost marvellous growth of the Church and of Church feeling, so that even those most opposed to the Church speak of it with admiration. Some idea of what that growth has been may be gathered from the statistics that follow.

In 1833 the bishops numbered 6, clergy 83. In 1853, bishops 7, clergy 147; in 1884, bishops 7, clergy 233; in 1906, bishops 7, clergy 330.

In 1854 the number of members was 30,546; in 1884, 80,017; in 1904, 126,325. Measured by the amount of money raised, the same thing is shown. In 1853 the amount raised in offertories and subscriptions was £3,104; in 1884, £17,805; in 1904, £111,682. In 1853 the amount of endowments belonging to the Church was very small: in 1904 it was £366,903.

Since the nineteenth century began cathedrals have been built and endowed at Perth, Inverness, Edinburgh and Cumbrae, while St. Paul's Church, Dundee, one of the finest ecclesiastical buildings in the country, has recently (1906) been erected into the cathedral of the diocese. The churches which at the beginning of the nineteenth century were few and of mean character, have been multiplied at least fivefold, and many of them are buildings of some architectural pretensions.

Institutions to meet the needs of the Church

have sprung up all over the country. Trinity College, Glenalmond is a monument of the zeal of churchmen of the middle of the century, and takes a high, if not the highest place among Scottish public schools. A magnificent range of buildings in Edinburgh—Coates Hall—provides a home for the theological college of the Church, while the training college for schoolmistresses sends out about forty teachers annually and is one of the best of its kind in Scotland. On Speyside, at Aberlour an orphanage, attached to the Church, cares for several hundreds of neglected and orphan children, while rescue homes, a penitentiary and other smaller institutions of a missionary character are to be found in all our large towns.

Nor has the work of the Church been confined to Scotland. In Africa and in India the Scottish Church is responsible for two missions, in the case of Kaffraria for the bishop's stipend, and in the case of Chanda for the whole expense of the station. Chanda is carried on by Scottish priests, while Kaffraria is largely helped by Scottish Churchpeople in addition to the stipend provided.

In the work of education the Church has not been laggard, though other influences have combined to make that less successful. In spite of many difficulties her sixty-eight schools are still efficient, and without any rate aid do a great share in the national work.

On the literary side the Church has always been

strong, and in spite of the fewness of its members has long had a representative paper or magazine. *Stephen's Magazine,* the *Scottish Magazine,* the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal,* provided for a great part of the century literary matter equal to that of any of the English magazines of the period. A weekly newspaper—the *Scottish Chronicle* (lately the *Scottish Guardian*) is published in the interests of the Church, while the *Scottish Standard Bearer,* a penny monthly, circulates widely in almost every congregation.

Progress so remarkable as this implies on the human side great and skilful leadership, and the Scottish Church of last century was singularly fortunate in its leaders. When the century began Bishop John Skinner of Aberdeen was the leading man in the Church, and no more statesmanlike bishop has ever adorned the bench. It was due mainly to his skilful forethought and pilotage that the delicate business of reconstruction and organization was successfully carried through. His contemporary, Bishop Jolly (1756—1838) made the Church famous in another direction. Men came from far distant America to Fraserburgh to visit the saintly bishop, and counted the trouble well spent. No life in the Church in modern times has been more like the life of a primitive Father. In his learning, his humility, his gentleness, his was a saintly life which the "afflicted remnant" may well be proud to have

nourished, and the influence of which is felt still in many a household in the far north. Of the same period, and coming from the same district of Scotland, Bishop Gleig (1753—1840) was a man of a different stamp. For long incumbent of the old charge of Stirling and Bishop of Brechin, he made himself felt in a wider field than Scotland by the sheer force of intellectual ability. As editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and the author of many published works, he showed a mind of very modern cast, and probably no bishop of modern times excelled him in mental power. He contributed not a little by his vigorous advocacy to the placing of the Church on a real broad foundation. These were men of the eighteenth as well as of the nineteenth century, and helped to carry the Church over a very difficult transition period. Bishop Forbes (1817—1875) was altogether a nineteenth-century man and a product of the Oxford revival of 1833. As parish priest, in the days when Scottish bishops were also incumbents, the work of Bishop Forbes speaks for itself to-day in Dundee, and his saintly self-denying life was a revelation to many of what Christianity really means. No name was better known outside of Scotland in his own time than that of the learned Bishop of Brechin. He became involved in the Eucharistic controversy that in the middle of the century raged with such fierceness in Scotland, and was presented for heretical teaching

by one of his own clergy. Now that the din of controversy has died down, he is remembered and his memory revered for his beautiful life and the great work which he did. Contemporary with him, his opponent in many things, his superior probably in exact scholarship, Charles Wordsworth (1806—1892), Bishop of St. Andrews, stood side by side with Bishop Forbes in making the name of the Scottish Episcopal Church respected, and known far beyond its own borders. As the first warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, he brought to that institution all the best traditions of English public school life, and as the Bishop of St. Andrews for nearly fifty years he entirely rehabilitated the idea of a bishop in the minds of the Scottish people. As the Apostle of Unity among Christians he preached and lectured on his theme in season and out of season, and if there be to-day in Scotland a growing desire for re-union, it was Charles Wordsworth who sowed the seed. His long connection with the Scottish Church carried him through some of the most difficult crises, in each of which he played no mean part. Right fitly was he laid to rest under the shadow of the ruined cathedral of the city he loved so well, and which he helped, almost more than any one, to make the Oxford of Scotland. If Bishop Forbes presented the practical part of Episcopacy to the Scottish people, it was Bishop Wordsworth who pierced the dense intellectual prejudice that pre-

vented many Scotsmen from considering it on the mental side, and who made the name and office of a bishop tolerable to many who had hitherto been unapproachable.

In the west of Scotland another bishop was spreading the name and fame of the Church as well. Bishop Ewing (1814—1873) of Argyle belonged to the modern Liberal School, and showed that the Scottish Episcopal Church, reputed to be narrow, had yet room for such as he.

Seldom has it fallen to the lot of any Church to have within the ranks of the Episcopate at the same time, three men of such diverse, but eminent ability, as Bishops Forbes, Wordsworth and Ewing.

The Church stands now, just a hundred years distant from the first start it made at Laurencekirk in 1804. The outlook, hopeful then, is far more hopeful now. In the crash of dissolving parties, and the instability of many of the bodies round her, the Church possesses distinct advantages. In the possession of the Apostolic ministry she is linked on to the past, and in her democratic basis of government she shows her adaptability to the present and the future. The only body in Scotland in full communion with England, she offers great imperial advantages, and possessing a liturgy with freedom from State entanglements she is free to order her worship with dignity and reverence. Scotland has only recently seen

bishops at work. The Scottish rejection of bishops in the past was due to misunderstanding and the very imperfect concrete examples of bishops. Now that Scotland sees and knows what Episcopacy really means, it is learning to look upon it in a different manner.

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Episcopal, and in touch with the Church of West (France)—Ninian its greatest Bishop—Candida Casa centre.

II. The Celtic Church: 563–1093.

Episcopal and Liturgical—closely connected with Church of Ireland—not under Bishop of Rome—monastic and missionary—Columba its great missionary—Iona centre.

III. Church of the Middle Ages: 1093–1560.

Episcopal, Liturgical—gradually coming under Bishop of Rome, and becoming corrupt doctrinally and morally—the great age of church building.

IV. The Great Upheaval: 1560–1689.

(*a*) 1560–1572: Provisional—Principle of Episcopacy recognized.
(*b*) 1572–1576: Titular Episcopacy.
(*c*) 1576–1592: Titular Episcopacy struggling against Presbytery.
(*d*) 1592–1596: "Golden age" of Presbytery.
(*e*) 1596–1610: Struggle for Episcopacy.
(*f*) 1610–1638: First Reformed Episcopate.
(*g*) 1638–1660: Covenanters (Presbyterian).
(*h*) 1660–1689: Second Reformed Episcopate—Church disestablished 1689.

V. The Hundred Years in the Wilderness: 1689–1792 (Episcopal Church).

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